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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1328



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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

International Legal Conference Held in Baku (VYSKHA, 22 Sep 82)	1
Japanese Talk of 'Soviet Threat' Masks Aggressive Plans in S.E. Asia (B. Chekhonin; APN DAILY REVIEW; 19 Oct 82)	2
'Aggressive Essence' of NATO Military Strategy Viewed (Boris Khalosha Interview; MOSCOW NEWS, 24-31 Oct 82)	4
Kulikov Interviewed on NATO-Warsaw Pact Military Balance (MOSCOW NEWS, 24-31 Oct 82)	7
Nature of Soviet Peace Program Explained (Yu. A. Zhilin; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, Jul 82)	8
Swedish Paper on Soviet Curtailment of Radio, Mail Ties (Staffan Teste; DAGENS NYHETER, 10 Sep 82)	20

NATIONAL

Foundations of Soviet Nationalities' Friendship Explained (T. Derevyankin; PRAVDA UKRAINY, 10 Sep 82)	23
'Convince My Daughter Not To Leave With Foreign Husband,' Mother Appeals (KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA, 19 Sep 82)	28
'PARTINAYA ZHIZN' on Solving Nationality Problem (PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN'. Aug 82)	30
Strong Measures Needed To Combat Labor Absenteeism (V. Sapov; PRAVDA, 3 Sep 82)	39

Provocative Russian Historical Novel Discussed (A. Ovcharenko; PRAVDA, 27 Sep 82)	43
Quality of Russian Instruction in Non-Russian Schools Found To Be Low (D. Brudnyy; UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA, 24 Aug 82)	45
'Spectre' of Nationalist Survivals of Past Attacked (G. Zimanas; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 16 Sep 82)	48
Children, Adults Must Be Taught Respect for Cultural Monuments (Editorial Report)	52
Obkom Secretary on Role of People's Controllers (Editorial Report)	52
Obkom Secretary on Improving Selection of Cadres (Editorial Report)	52

REGIONAL

Kazakh Supreme Court Plenum Combats Youth Crime (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 15 Sep 82)	53
Kazakh Procurator Describes Fight Against Economic Crimes (I. Katsay; KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, 15 Sep 82)	54
Ukraine Writers, Artists View Flowering of Culture (PRAVDA UKRAINY, 30 Sep 82)	58
Karakum Canal Navigation (Yuri Sapozhkov; MOSCOW NEWS, 10-17 Oct 82)	61
Demographic Pattern: Concentration of Non-Russians, Dispersion of Russians (OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE, Jun 82)	63

INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL CONFERENCE HELD IN BAKU

Baku VYSKHA in Russian 22 Sep 82 p 3

[Article: "Problems in the Science of Law Are Being Discussed"]

[Text] The members of the International Association for Legal and Social Philosophy (MAPSF) are working on the problems in jurisprudence methodologies and the social and philosophical aspects of this science. The scholars have assembled to discuss urgent questions in the work of this organization and in the further development of the science of law in Baku where the MAPSF presidium has begun to meet for the first time on the territory of our country.

A "round table" meeting was held in the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences on 21 September. F. K. Kocharli, the director of the Institute of Philosophy and Law and an academician in the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, greeted the guests in the name of the republic's Academy of Sciences presidium.

Professor Paul Trappe (Switzerland), the MAPSF president, greeted those gathered there.

Dzh. A. Kerimov, the association's vice-president, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and an academician in the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, presented the report on the fundamental problems in jurisprudence methodology.

Besides purely scientific problems, the scholars will discuss a number of organizational questions, the progress in the preparations for the forthcoming MAPSF world congress next year in Finland, and the work of the association's press organ -- the magazine ARKHIV PRAVOVOY I SOTSIAL'NOY FILOSOFII.

An exhibition of books by the Soviet participants in the meeting has been set up. After the meeting of the scholars is completed, these publications -- with presentation inscriptions by the authors -- will become the property of the republic's Academy of Sciences.

The work of the meeting will last a week. It's participants -- scholars from the USSR, the GDR, Poland, Australia, Argentina, Switzerland, and Japan-- will become acquainted with the work of their Azerbaijan colleagues from the Institute of Philosophy and Law and will visit other scientific institutions and a number of the republic's rayons.

R. A. Abutalybov, the head of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee's Department of Foreign Relations, participated in the work of the meeting.

INTERNATIONAL

JAPANESE TALK OF 'SOVIET THREAT' MASKS AGGRESSIVE PLANS IN S.E. ASIA

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 19 Oct 82 pp 1-2

[Article by B. Chekhonin: "Japan: Military Threat Again"]

[Text] Another joint military exercise of the Japanese and U.S. air forces started in Japan today. Its official aim is to drill the methods of rebuffing "the menace from the north," that is from the USSR. But facts prove that the proclaimed aim of the provocative military games has the purpose to cover up the actual aim of the exercises. Japanese strategists, rabid as they are, realise clearly that no real threat is presented by the North. Tokyo is also aware that in case of a military strike from the Japanese islands retribution cannot be avoided. This is why the clamour about the alleged Soviet menace, just as the exercises that started today, pursue clearly propagandist tasks, one of which is to stir up anti-Soviet sentiments in Japan.

As to the military aspects, the aggressive plans of the Japanese strategists are directed to the south, just as in the years of World War II. Tokyo again has adopted the course at military expansion in South-East Asia.

This is proved by a lot of facts. Tokyo stated officially that from now on the sphere of its geopolitical interests stretches for over a thousand miles south of the Japanese Archipelago. This is shown also by the five-year programme of the "selfdefence forces" for 1983-1987. Over this period, Japan's navy will be supplied with 60 modern missile-carrying warships and 14 submarines. Landing units of the Japanese army will be supplied with new types of weapons, including tanks and missile installations. Already in 1983 the military budget of the Japanese "self-defence forces" will reach 2.8 trillion yen, the record sum in postwar time.

The revision of history is in full swing in Japan. It is sought to make Japanese forget the crimes of the military against Asian peoples, to free the Japanese people from the feeling of guilt for former atrocities of militaristic leaders. But how can it be possible to erase from the memory of Asian peoples such horrible crimes of the Japanese military as the extermination of eleven million Chinese, millions of killed and tortured to death peaceful people of Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines.

Reflecting these sentiments, President of the Philippines Marcos at the recent talks in Washington expressed serious concern over the plans of speedy rearming of Japan. "Japan wishes to restore its military and political supremacy in Asia. The growing aggressiveness of Japan causes serious concern in ASEAN countries," he said.

Millions of realistically minded people in Japan come to the conclusion about the danger of Japan's rearming for the national interests of Asian countries and, certainly, for Japan itself. It is not accidental that these days the democratic public of Japan holds meetings and demonstrations of protest against remilitarisation of Japan, against the increase of the U.S. military presence. The campaign against drawing Japan into the Pentagon's aggressive militaristic preparations is conducted on a large scale in Japan. "We shall not allow Japan being turned into Asia's gendarme," "Down with the Japanese-U.S. security treaty," "U.S. military, get out of Japan"--these demands now sound in Japan ever louder.

(TASS, October 18. In full.)

Translated by TASS

CSO: 1812/8

'AGGRESSIVE ESSENCE' OF NATO MILITARY STRATEGY VIEWED

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 42, 24-31 Oct 82 p 5

[Interview with Boris Khalosha by Vladimir Brodetsky]

[Text]

Q.: NATO has been in existence for over 30 years now. Its military-strategic doctrines and leadership have changed; however, the bloc's essence hasn't. You maintain that its essence is aggressive. What proof do you have?

A.: I'll mention one vivid example: the long-established role ascribed to nuclear weapons in US and NATO strategies. Initially, the West planned to conduct hostilities in Europe with conventional arms, postponing the use of nuclear weapons till the latter stages of the conflict. But, in the late 60's and early 70's NATO has lowered the "nuclear threshold" in Europe. (In modern military parlance "nuclear threshold" means the moment when transfer to the use of nuclear weapons takes place in case of a conflict.) In other words, it has been decided that NATO may use tactical nuclear weapons against the Warsaw Treaty countries at earlier stages of a conflict.

The especially dangerous trends in the US and NATO nuclear strategy became evident in the 80's. Jimmy Carter, then US President, signed Presidential Directive 59 which provides for the possibility of waging a "limited nuclear war" and for the US making first nuclear strikes against targets in the USSR and other countries. This essentially signified a new, US government-sanctioned lowering of the "nuclear threshold" on the strategic level. The present US administration is going even further. It has openly proclaimed that a nuclear war is permissible, "acceptable", and even expedient.

The Warsaw Treaty countries proposed, as early as 1976, that all countries which took part in the Helsinki Conference, sign a treaty forbidding the first use of nuclear weapons against each other. But this opposes the concept of the low "nuclear threshold" to which the USA and NATO consistently and stubbornly subscribe. Because of this they rejected the Warsaw Treaty proposal.

Q.: The USA and NATO explain their reluctance to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons by the USSR's alleged superiority in conventional armed forces. What is the situation in this field?

A.: Both sides at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have twice exchanged official data on numerical strength of their troops in that region. There are 991,000 men in NATO countries' armies and 979,000 in Warsaw Treaty states' armies.

Any further arguments on numerical troop strength are simply senseless, because if a reduction were made, both sides would have equal numbers of troops in Central Europe — 900,000 men each.

Q.: The NATO leaders declare that their bloc employs

the doctrine of "two props": strength and detente. What do they mean by this?

A.: This doctrine, adopted in the late 60's-early 70's, is nothing but a flexible use of political tactics. It is a forced reaction to detente, which had

gained in popularity at the time. Mentioning the term "detente" does not say anything in itself and does not change the bloc's aggressive essence. Let's take such a policy-making NATO paper as the Declaration on Atlantic Relations, approved in 1974 (at detente's peak) by the heads of state and government of 15 countries affiliated with NATO. The paper says outright that the development of the allied armed forces cannot be changed in the course of the present or future talks four Italics — Ed, with the socialist states. I don't think it could be put more clearly.

NATO remains the main generator of the arms race. Succumbing to US pressure, the NATO countries agreed in May 1977 to a major military spending increase, up a real 3 per cent per year (i.e. taking inflation into account). The NATO Council, at its May 1978 session, in Washington, adopted a programme unprecedented in scale, for the bloc's war preparations up to 1994. In addition to previously planned spending it is planned to spend 80,000 million dollars on it for the fulfilment of over 120 NATO's specific military undertakings.

The process, which constitutes material preparations for a world war, has become especially intensified in the 80's. Even according to the official, obviously understated, data released by the NATO HQ, the bloc's 1981 military spending totalled, according to preliminary estimates, 282,000 million dollars as compared with 103,300 million dollars in 1970, i.e. it increased by over 150 per cent.

Q: The abbreviation NATO itself should designate the geographic limits of the bloc as being confined to the North Atlantic. But, then, NATO does not stick to the "established borders", does it?

A: No, it doesn't. The bloc is, in fact, expanding, without making any juridical amendments in the North Atlantic Treaty text, its initially proclaimed borders of activities. This has already been reflected in the coordination of the activities of individual NATO participants, aimed at hindering decolonization in southern Africa, in coordination of activities in South-West Asia,

especially in the Persian Gulf region, in the Sinai Peninsula, in the Indian Ocean, and even in the South Atlantic, many thousands of kilometres away from NATO HQ.

A declaration, made at the NATO Council session in Bonn this June, on the possible expansion of the bloc's "zone of activities" beyond its established geographic limits, cannot but cause apprehension.

One more dangerous step is being made in the declaration of new spheres of the West's "vital interests". Various NATO organs are being charged with the task of considering the "needs" stemming from the expansion of the boundaries of NATO activities.

This aspiration to "globalize" NATO is annoying even some of its members, who fear being drawn into military ventures far removed from the North Atlantic.

The USSR, as Leonid Brezhnev declared at his recent meeting with Indira Gandhi, is for worldwide relaxation of tensions and because of that the USSR proposes that the leading organs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty make statements against spreading the sphere of activities of these alliances to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is up to the West now.

Q: The planned deployment in Western Europe of Pershing-2

and Cruise missiles, under American control, impinges, of course, on the sovereignty of the West European states. What, then, is stronger—"bloc discipline" or the desire to preserve sovereignty?

A: True, the US medium-range nuclear missiles, were they deployed and used in Western Europe, would act as a magnet, inevitably attracting retaliatory strikes. Washington wishes in this manner to turn Europe into a nuclear battlefield, hoping to sit it out on a fence, in other words, according to US strategy. Western Europe is to act as Washington's nuclear hostage.

Because of that, such NATO countries as Belgium and the Netherlands took a special stand on the new Euromissile issue, refusing to give immediate consent to the deployment of these weapons in their territories. The broad scale anti-nuclear movement in these countries had, of course, influ-

enced the stand taken by the governments.

But we also know something else: the FRG, British, and Italian governments have consented to deploy the new missiles in their countries contrary to the population's broad-scale protest movement against these weapons. This, besides the massive pressure brought to bear by the US upon these countries, was, of course, the influence of what you have called "bloc discipline". The "Atlantic solidarity" is coupled with the further and considerable growth of Western Europe's military-political dependence on Washington.

Q: The people's struggle to avert nuclear holocaust has embraced all the NATO countries. Each of the governments, however, is developing its own methods of "cooling off" the force of the anti-war movement. What role do the central NATO organs play in this question?

A: US and NATO leaders had recently allowed themselves to ignore the peace movement. Later on, realizing that the movement is gathering strength, they tried to discredit it by declaring that it was the "handiwork of Moscow", of "subversive elements", etc. I must say that even some Western leaders rejected such ideas. For example, Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, recently declared that he did not believe the pacifist movement was directed by the USSR.

Given the unprecedented scope of the anti-war movement in Europe, the USA and all over the world, enemies to detente have invented a new tactic. The aim is to weaken the movement. Plans are being put forward for setting up a so-called independent anti-nuclear movement which would take an "equidistant" stand from both the USA and the USSR. More than that, NATO's leading organs, and especially its Council, have resorted to downright lies in trying to

prove that the real nuclear threat to the world emanates not from the US and NATO, but from the USSR and its Warsaw Treaty allies.

The communique of the Bonn NATO Council session, which I mentioned already, offers a

sample of such methods. In it the NATO leadership declares that it was supposedly the USSR and the other Warsaw Treaty countries that supported a demand for the West's unilateral disarmament. But as we know, it was precisely the USSR which spoke in favour of liquidating completely all medium-range nuclear missiles aimed at targets in Europe, and expressed preparedness to have such weapons on both sides—the USSR's and NATO's — reduced substantially, by hundreds of units.

To help this process, the USSR has unilaterally stopped not only the deployment of medium-range missiles in its European territory, but is now reducing their numbers and isn't deploying any new medium-range missiles in places from which they can reach Western Europe.

Q.: The USSR and a number of other countries, signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, spoke many times in favour of convening a conference on military defence and disarmament in Europe. The NATO countries have their own concept of such a conference. The accent in this concept is put on the discussion of confidence-building measures "from the Atlantic to the Urals". What is the NATO concept aimed at?

A.: Expressing goodwill and counting on mutuality, the Soviet leaders declared at the 26th CPSU Congress preparedness to make such a major step as spreading the zone of confidence-building measures (notifying of military exercises, inviting observers to them, etc.) to the entire European part of the USSR. Naturally, this could be done if the West were to correspondingly expand a similar zone. The Soviet proposals made at the Madrid meeting provide for spreading the confidence building measures to

all of Europe, including air space and adjacent sea areas of corresponding width. The US delegation made, on behalf of NATO, its own proposal. It provides for the expansion of the confidence-building measures zone in Soviet territory up to the Ural Mts, whereas in the West it would not be expanded at all and could even be reduced. As you see, in this case, too, the NATO countries are trying to gain unilateral benefits for themselves to the detriment of the socialist states' security.

One other thing draws attention to the NATO concept of confidence building measures besides the lack of the principle of equality and mutuality. While capitalizing on the very important question of confidence - building measures, NATO is purposefully striving to circumvent the main issue—real limitation of the arms race and real disarmament. All the bloc's activities testify to this.

Q.: The USSR has proposed many times that the military alliances confronting each other be dissolved and that they not be expanded by the admission of new members, isn't that so?

A.: These and other peace initiatives of the socialist states, and particularly the proposal to sign a non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, have invariably encountered resistance on the part of the Western nations. For example, in reply to the proposal made by the Warsaw Treaty states not to expand the existing military political groupings and not to set up new, closed ones, NATO recently admitted a new member to its ranks—Spain. The search for ways to expand the bloc further is continuing. Methods of "quiet diplomacy" and probing some of the neutral states are used to achieve this.

INTERNATIONAL

KULIKOV INTERVIEWED ON NATO-WARSAW PACT MILITARY BALANCE

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 42, 24-31 Oct 82 p 5

[Text]

"The idea voiced in the West about the strategic lag of NATO military capability behind that of the Warsaw Treaty Organization is a predetermined distortion of facts," Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, Commander-in Chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, told our correspondent.

"It was precisely the balance of forces," he said, "that served as the objective factor in the stability of the international situation and a point of departure for the process that led to detente."

"Both sides, of course, have numerical and qualitative differences in various armaments, in planes, tanks, and land-based missiles, for example. It is clear, however, to any unprejudiced person and, even more so, to a military expert, that total military power of each side is determined by the sum total of all its arms and weapons. And the conclusion is that a military strategic parity exists between the two sides was made taking this

into account.

"The talk about NATO lagging behind the Warsaw Treaty Organization is intended to justify the policy adopted by the present US administration to undermine the balance that has taken shape between the two sides, to achieve US military superiority over the USSR, and NATO superiority over the WTO."

"However, in the conditions of our time nobody will succeed in disrupting the existing military strategic balance and in achieving military superiority. Whoever is hatching plans of this sort, obviously overestimates their own capability and is ignoring the capabilities of the other side which will not remain inactive in the face of the war preparations aimed against it. Any attempts made to upset, and break down the existing balance will lead to a new stage in the arms race and to the growth of the danger of war, which must never be allowed to take place," stressed Marshal Kulikov.

CSO: 1812/9

INTERNATIONAL

NATURE OF SOVIET PEACE PROGRAM EXPLAINED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 7, Jul 82 pp 46-59

[Article by Yu. A. Zhilin: "The Soviet Peace Program: Innovation and the Traditions of the Foreign Policy of the CPSU"]

[Excerpts] In the history of the foreign-policy activity of the CPSU, and, moreover, in the history of international relations in the broadest sense, a special place belongs to the Peace Program that was advanced and developed at our party's 24th, 25th, and 26th congresses. Let us discuss certain of its most important distinguishing features.

First of all the Peace Program is a document that reflects in the most concentrated and most extensive manner the international policy of the CPSU and of the Soviet Union during the atomic age.

Furthermore. The Peace Program reflects the foreign-policy activity of the first socialist state during a period when it expresses the interests and implements the capabilities of developed socialist society, when the Soviet Union has achieved the greatest military-economic and sociopolitical might in its entire history, when its immediate effect upon the course of all the chief world events has acquired tremendous weight, and its foreign-policy activity rate has achieved an unprecedentedly broad scope. This program reflects the foreign-policy activity of the Soviet state during a period when the USSR does not stand in isolation on the international arena, when there exists a socialist community of states, the influence of which is determining to a greater and greater extent the course of world social development.

Finally, the uniqueness of the Peace Program is also linked with the very nature of this document, which, judged according to its type and form, does not have any counterpart either in the history of the international communist and workers movement, or in the history of diplomacy.

The question can arise as to the sense in which, and to the degree to which, one can speak about the Peace Program as a single document, inasmuch as we are dealing with the foreign-policy decisions made at three congresses. The published records pertaining to those congress answer that question themselves.

We will recall that at the 24th CPSU Congress it was emphasized, "To the aggressive policy of imperialism the Soviet Union opposes a policy of active defense of

the peace and the reinforcement of international security"¹. Simultaneously, six basic groups of specific tasks for that struggle were isolated, with those groups reflecting to the greatest degree the foreign-policy problematics of that time. In their totality they were defined in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee that was given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev as "a program for the struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence, with which our party comes forth"². This program spontaneously, in the process of its being carried out, received the name of Peace Program³.

At the 25th CPSU Congress, in the report given by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, L. I. Brezhnev, he brought forward foreign-policy proposals that were characterized as the "organic continuation and development of the Peace Program that was adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress," as a program for the "further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the freedom and independence of nations"⁴.

Finally, at the 26th CPSU Congress, after coming forward with a broad group of foreign-policy proposals, L. I. Brezhnev said, "This, if you will, organic continuation and development of our Peace Program is applicable to the most burning, most vital problems of international life in our time"⁵. The totality of the foreign-policy initiatives that were brought forward by the 26th CPSU Congress, in combination with the previous proposals, very rapidly, within the widest social circles, received the broad definition "the Peace Program for the 1980's."

The Soviet Peace Program is a political document that is innovative by its very type. It is simultaneously a program both of party and of state activity. It is the concentrated expression of our country's foreign-policy course, it encompasses and generalizes the chief problems in reinforcing the peace, and simultaneously in many of its points it has a specific nature. At the same time, unlike the current diplomatic documents of the Soviet government, which also, in all-encompassing form, expound its positions with regard to questions of peace, disarmament, and international security, the Peace Program does not proceed along the path of itemizing the diplomatic details or of repeating the invariable proposals made by our state.

Lying at the basis of the Peace Program are fundamentally stable principles, but at the same time it is in a state of constant, and extremely dynamic, development. It is a document that is integral and purposeful, but that is by no means "completed," even in form or in content. It is being constantly enriched and it enriches international life. And that capability of moving forward -- a capability that is inherent in the Soviet Peace Program -- its sensitivity toward the demands of the day, and at the same time, its overall orientation toward the future, toward the transformation of international relations in the spirit of the principles that correspond to the interests of nations, that innovation, in its turn, acts as a tradition in the Leninist foreign-policy course of the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

The Peace Program has been brought forward at that historical stage of development when imperialism has ceased to be not only the all-encompassing system of dominance of the monopoly capital of a few of the largest powers, but also the dominating force on the international scene. The peace decree has posed as its goal the cessation of a world war. The present-day Soviet Peace Program poses

as its goal the prevention of a worldwide thermonuclear war. The advancement of this goal actually is of importance to world history and is based on the real shifts in worldwide social development, among which one can isolate two basic ones: the new correlation of sociopolitical forces on the international scene -- the overall potential preponderance of the forces of peace over the forces of war; and the scientific-technical revolution in military affairs, or, putting it simply, the creation of absolutely unprecedented means of conducting warfare which are capable not only of inflicting unheard-of calamities on entire countries and continents, but also of calling into question the very fates of human civilization. Both these factors influence both the persistent need and the possibility of preventing the unleashing of a third world war. The chief thrust of the Soviet Peace Program consists in converting that possibility into reality and establishing a lasting peace on earth. "Not the preparation for war, a preparation that dooms nations to the senseless wasting of their material and spiritual wealth, but the consolidation of the peace -- that is the thread that guides us into tomorrow"¹⁸.

Marxists have always linked the task of saving mankind from wars with the victory of socialism: That conclusion remains, in principle, correct. But the dialectics of historical development are such that socialism, having been converted into a world system of states, opens up the paths for the resolution of this task even before its complete victory on earth, while capitalism is still preserved in part of the world. There arises the possibility and the necessity of preserving the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. In approximately the 1970's a military-strategic balance was achieved between the world of capitalism and the world of socialism. The attempts of imperialism to break that balance have been unpromising. At the same time the correlation of the sociopolitical forces has continued and is continuing to change to the advantage of the progressive forces. Moreover, the present stage is characterized by an increase in the role played by practical socialism as a decisive factor in the world social process. The countries in the socialist community are acting as the socioeconomically and politically most dynamic international force. The peace potential is also increasing in another sense: there has been an increase in the influence exerted on the course of international events by the countries that have been liberated from colonial oppression, and there has been an intensification of the resistance toward the aggressive policy of imperialism on the part of various antiwar movements.

The very resolution of such a task as the prevention of a new world war can be found only if the consistently peace-loving foreign policy of the socialist states interacts with, and merges into a common channel with, the struggle that is being waged in the same direction, but, naturally, in other forms, by the workers movements and the other progressive forces of the capitalist part of the world, and with the anti-imperialistic, antihegemonistic struggle being waged by the young national states, the national-liberation movements, and all the sociopolitical currents that are coming forward in opposition to the military danger. "It is precisely the combining of the foreign policy of the socialist states which corresponds to the interests of nations, and the active participation of the broadest masses in all the countries, that can guarantee fundamental changes in the entire international situation toward the better"¹⁹, Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee B. N. Ponomarev remarks.

Another new factor of cardinal importance in the development of the present-day system of international relations is the scientific-technical revolution in military affairs, and primarily the creation of nuclear-missile weaponry.

In the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and peace, substantial importance is attached to the material-technical aspect of the matter.

In his day F. Engels, dealing specifically with the creation of new types of weapons, wrote, "Every day technology mercilessly discards as no longer useful everything, even that which has only recently been put into use. Technology is now eliminating even the romantic gunpowder smoke, thus giving to combat a completely different nature and a different course which it is absolutely impossible to foresee. And these values that do not lend themselves to computation will have to be considered more and more by us under conditions of this continuous revolutionizing of the technical basis of conducting warfare"²⁰. F. Engels foresaw that a future war would lead to tremendous human and material sacrifices and he spoke about that. Directly continuing his idea and developing it with a consideration of that "material" which had been provided by World War I, V. I. Lenin warned that the military application of the latest and mightiest gains of science and technology "can lead to and . . . inevitably will lead to. . . the undermining of the very conditions of existence of human society"²¹.

The appeal advanced by L. I. Brezhnev within the framework of the Peace Program for the 1980's -- "Nations must know the truth concerning the destructive consequences to which mankind would be brought by a nuclear war"²² -- is, both in essence and in form, a continuation of the Marxist-Leninist tradition of the scientific accounting for revolution in the technical means of conducting warfare and the political appeal to the masses for purposes of mobilizing their vigilance with respect to the new nature of the military threat. But this is not only the continuation of a tradition. It is also backed up by a concrete analysis of the peculiarities of specifically the nuclear age.

First, "the situation has already come to a point," L. I. Brezhnev said, "when, if the currently accumulated weapons reserves are put into action, mankind can be completely annihilated"²³.

Secondly, the oversaturation of the planet with means of mass destruction is continuing and, in certain regards, is being accelerated. This oversaturation has both a quantitative and a qualitative nature. As was noted by L. I. Brezhnev seven years ago, "there arises a serious danger of the creation of an even more terrible weapon than nuclear weapons"²⁴.

Thirdly, the headlong progress of science and technology in the military area can lead to the creation of a situation in which we will lose the possibility of the effective restraining of the arms race with the aid of agreements based on mutual control. In other words, the arms race itself can escape from under political control.

The basic, qualitatively new fact which has been introduced by the scientific-technical revolution in military affairs consists in that "the means of conducting warfare, the means of mass destruction, have currently taken on such a scope that

their application would bring into question the existence of many nations, and, moreover, modern civilization as a whole"²⁵. Hence the fundamental importance of the theoretical and political conclusions made by the CPSU: "...It is criminal to consider a thermonuclear war as an efficient and practically 'legal' continuation of policy. . . Setting one's hope on force, on the application of nuclear-missile weaponry, brings into question the future of mankind"²⁶.

Thus, during the nuclear age there have grown simultaneously both the mortal danger of a world war and the forces that are capable of preventing the gradual slipping toward it, capable of preventing it from being unleashed. Both these factors act as points of departure in the very direction taken by the Soviet Peace Program. That program proceeds from the tremendous real potential for peace that is present in the socialist countries, in the countries participating in the nonalignment movement, in the powerful antiwar movement, in the communist and workers parties, and the realistically-minded circles in the capitalist countries. This potential for peace is capable of breaking the tendency toward slipping toward a thermonuclear catastrophe. It is capable of making the peace lasting and stable.

The Soviet Peace Program is based on the general course of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which has been determined by the CPSU Program and by the decisions passed at its congresses. On 6 November 1964 L. I. Brezhnev formulated it as follows, "It is a course aimed at guaranteeing the peaceful conditions for the building of socialism and communism, at reinforcing the unity and solidarity of the socialist countries, their friendship and brotherhood, it is a course aimed at supporting liberating revolutionary movements, at the taking of all steps to develop solidarity and cooperation with the independent states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, at confirming the principles of peaceful coexistence with capitalist states, and at saving mankind from a world war"²⁷.

Whereas the general course of the Soviet Union's foreign policy determines all the aspects of our country's international activities, the Peace Program that is based on this invariable general course acts as its concrete embodiment and expression, especially in matters of the struggle against military danger. The struggle to prevent a world war is multifaceted. This goal itself cannot be achieved by means of any one-time or uniform decisions. One must move ahead to that goal by necessarily traveling along many paths, since, although the social cause of the threat is just one -- imperialism -- the direct sources of the military danger that is fraught with the thermonuclear conflict are varied: these are the arms race itself in all its manifestations; and the tightening up of the political tension in the relations among states, which leads to military confrontation; and local wars. To these sources one must add the overall instability of the system of international relations, the violation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and the suppression of the national rights of nations, which in and of itself makes it impossible to speak about a peace that is just, and therefore about one that is lasting, and, moreover, that leads, as a rule, to explosive situations and, in one way or another, influences the interrelations within the entire world system.

Thus, the strategy of preventing a new world war presupposes the attainment, in addition to the global goals, of a number of, as it were, partial goals, the resolution of a number of specific tasks, each of which, however, is extremely

substantial, and plays an independent role from the point of view of the radical improvement of the international situation.

The Peace Program that was proclaimed by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses, with regard to a number of problems, was rendered more concrete and was developed at the 26th party congress. These are the reflection of the new demands of life and of international life. At the same time, as was already pointed out, the foreign-policy platform of every CPSU Congress acts as the organic continuation of the previous one, that is, not simply as some kind of repetition or supplement, but specifically as the development of the single whole. And the Soviet Peace Program, as a single whole, summarizes definite groups of problems, in the framework of each of which the first-priority goals and the long-range goals are combined.

A methodological basis for the grouping of these basic problems was provided by L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces in Moscow on 26 October 1973. Speaking at that time about the vitally important tasks of the struggle for peace under present-day conditions, he isolated the following:

- the promoting of the settlement, on a just basis, of the already existing armed conflicts;
 - the creation of systems of collective security, thus making it possible to overcome gradually the division of the world into military-political blocs;
 - the cessation of the nuclear and other arms races;
 - the development of cooperation among the states in all areas, without any discrimination or attempts to interfere in one another's internal affairs.
- L. I. Brezhnev noted, "Obviously, the resolution of certain of these tasks will take time, but others cry out for immediate, urgent actions right now"²⁸.

Within the framework of the Peace Program, the 25th CPSU Congress brought forward the task of building up the active joint contribution made by the fraternal socialist states to the reinforcement of the peace and the task of the complete elimination of all the vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, all the centers of colonialism and racism. These trends in the Soviet Union's foreign-policy activities have, so to speak, their independent importance, their specific problems, but as a whole they should not be separated from the global problem of preventing a thermonuclear war, of consolidating the peace -- the chief goal of the Soviet Peace Program.

The factor that plays the first-priority role in the struggle to prevent a world war is the promoting of the settlement, on a just basis, of the already existing armed conflicts. We are reminded of this by the lessons of history, since each of the two world wars began with conflicts that originally were, as it were, of a local nature.

The Peace Program that was developed at the three most recent CPSU Congresses invariably brought forward the tasks of the struggle against aggressive actions, wherever they are undertaken, and by whoever they are undertaken.

The 26th Congress brought forward initiatives which revealed the objectively existing interrelationship between the problem of preventing the formation of new military hotspots and the steps to extend the detente to the sphere that pertains to the opposing of armed forces. In this regard the following was noted: during recent years, in both parts of the world, there have arisen centers of military conflicts, which frequently threaten to develop into a major conflagration. "Extinguishing them, as has been shown by experience, is no simple matter. Where would it be best to carry out preventive measures, to prevent the occurrence of these trouble spots?" How? In what manner? The means here can be varied, and one should not disregard a single one of them.

"In Europe, for example, this goal, to a certain degree, is served. . . by the measures of reinforcing trust in the military area, which measures are being carried out on the basis of the decision of the European-wide conference. . .

"There is an area where the development and application of means of trust -- with a consideration, obviously, of its specifics -- could not only relieve the tension in the situation locally, but also become a matter that is very beneficial for reinforcing the foundations of universal peace. This area is the Far East, where such powers as the USSR, China, and Japan live as neighbors. American military bases are also located there. The Soviet Union would be ready to carry out concrete negotiations dealing with the measures of trust in the Far East with all the interested countries"²⁹.

The struggle to eliminate the material means of conducting warfare, that is, the struggle for real disarmament, is the pivotal idea of the Soviet Peace Program. Let us isolate certain of the basic peculiarities of the Soviet disarmament program that is based on the Peace Program:

First. It is of an all-embracing nature. This finds its expression in the fact that the Soviet Union itself is ready and calls upon other countries:

-- to ban or to limit substantially any type of existing weapon on the basis of the appropriate understandings among the states;

-- to prevent the appearance of new types or systems of weapons on the basis of the same understandings;

-- to involve in the negotiations and understandings -- in conformity with the specific features of the limitation or prohibition of various types of weapons -- the broadest possible number of states.

Secondly. It reflects the special importance and urgency of the limitation and banning of means of mass destruction, and primarily, under present-day conditions, nuclear weapons. And this, to a decisive degree, depends upon the corresponding contribution and readiness to make that kind of contribution on the part of the states that have at their disposal the most powerful arms and armed forces, that is, the great powers, of which all are nuclear powers. Therefore, in the Soviet disarmament program, special importance is attached to involving in the negotiations and understandings on the particular group of problems of specifically those states, with a consideration of the vital interests and opinions of all the remaining countries of the world.

Thirdly. It is realistic, inasmuch as it proceeds from the need to achieve mutually acceptable resolutions, and, in particular, presupposes:

- the combination of radical measures and partial ones, that is, it includes, with a consideration of the position of the various states, the limitation, the cessation, the winding up of the arms race, and their elimination;
- the gradual carrying out of disarmament measures -- in a coordinated sequence and within coordinated time limits;
- the strict observance of the principle of equality and identical security so that, at no stage in the real disarmament, will any damage be inflicted on the lawful interests of any country whatsoever.

Fourthly. It presupposes effective control over the execution and observance of the disarmament measures, the nature and forms of which must depend upon the volume and peculiarities of those measures.

Fifthly. It proceeds from the assumption that the instrument for finding mutually acceptable understandings with regard to disarmament problems is the conducting of negotiations among states, the number of participants in which depends upon the nature of the problems to be discussed.

The struggle against the material preparation for war is one of the most important trends in the course of the USSR, which is aimed at the materialization of the detente and which presupposes, in particular, the supplementing of the political detente by a military detente. The final goal of this course, as was firmly stated in the CPSU Program that was adopted in 1981 and in the USSR Constitution that was adopted in 1977 -- is universal and complete disarmament. In conformity with the Marxist-Leninist concept of the CPSU, the movement ahead to that goal at all stages presupposes an active struggle by the masses of the people against the arms race and for disarmament, the formation in these interests of an international public opinion with the broad and conscious participation of various sociopolitical forces and organizations.

The degree of stability of the international security during the nuclear age acts as the summarizing result of many factors: in military-strategic and political. To a decisive degree it depends simultaneously also upon the nature of the interrelations among the militarily most powerful powers and upon the influence and effect exerted upon world policy by the medium-sized and small countries. The CPSU and the Soviet Union have repeatedly come forward as the initiators of clearing the path for the confirmation of political guarantees of peace. This has also found its expression in the Soviet Peace Program.

By the efforts of the CPSU and of L. I. Brezhnev personally, an integral concept of international security during the nuclear age has been developed. Its most essential features consist in the following:

- the international interdependence among states is currently such that any infringement of national security threatens international security, and the

threatening of international security will inflict harm upon the national security of any countries, however distant from the epicenter of the conflict it may be;

-- during the nuclear age not a single state can guarantee its own security by putting its stakes on winning the arms race;

-- the peace cannot be lasting if it is based on an "equilibrium of terror," that is, upon a buildup in the armed opposition. A reliable peace presupposes an equilibrium of security and mutual trust. And trust can become a reality when it is the result of the joint efforts to discontinue the arms race and to observe scrupulously the principle of equality and one another's identical security;

-- the path toward the reinforcement of international security lies through the confirmation in international relations of the principle of rejecting force or the threat of force, through the creation by joint efforts of various regional security systems, and this, in its turn, presupposes the weakening of the military opposition posed by military blocs and their gradual elimination;

-- international security presupposes respect for the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states, irrespective of their social system, and primarily of the principles of noninterference in one another's internal affairs, the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty, and the settlement of moot questions by means of negotiations. The CPJ views the matter of guaranteeing the freedom and independence of nations as a very important independent problem in the progressive development of human civilization as a whole. At the same time the CPSU organically links this matter with the matter of waging the struggle for peace, since this interdependence does exist in objective reality. For, by attempting to stifle the liberation movement, imperialism makes encroachments upon international security, and, in the final analysis, threatens to fling mankind into the calamity of a thermonuclear war. The CPSU and the Soviet Union are true to the Leninist theory concerning a "just, democratic peace." That is why peace, in our understanding, as L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, "is the unconditional respect for the right of every state, of every nation, to its sovereign and independent development"³⁰.

Peace is not only the absence of war, but is also cooperation among states. Cooperation in all spheres -- economic, scientific-technical, cultural, political.

To use L. I. Brezhnev's figurative expression, trade, production cooperatives, and scientific-technical ties are, so to speak, the "material fabric of peaceful cooperation," which reinforces the ties among peoples and states, and makes them increasingly interested in preserving the peace for long years ahead³¹. A course that is aimed at developing this kind of cooperation is a component part of the Soviet Peace Program.

During the period of detente, there has been a considerable increase and qualitative change in the economic and scientific-technical ties that the USSR has with the capitalist countries, and there has also been an increase in the volume of cultural exchanges between the USSR and foreign countries. All this has been one of the most important trends in materializing the detente.

Peaceful cooperation presupposes the work of a mechanism, created during the period of detente, for holding political consultative sessions among states, and the renewing and deepening of political dialogue at all levels. A course aimed at developing this kind of dialogue is one of the basic trends in the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, which are defined by the Soviet Peace Program for the 1980's. And it must be said that in the world today one can observe the widely extended recognition of the importance of dialogue and contacts -- both on the governmental level, and on the social level. There is a growing understanding of the fact that, even during periods of an aggravation of the international situation, dialogue and contacts not only must not be broken, but must be intensified, because it is precisely during those periods that there is an increase in their completely irreplaceable role not only as an instrument for settling individual moot problems, but also as a factor that serves as a deterrent to slipping toward a worse situation in the development of world affairs as a whole.

That is the Soviet Peace Program. It is a Soviet program in the sense that it was brought forward specifically by the CPSU, by the Soviet leadership. It is a Soviet program in the sense that it is entirely supported by the entire Soviet nation. But at the same time that program has as its goal not simply the defense of the state interests of the Soviet Union. While expressing the fundamental national interests of the Soviet nation, it at the same time is profoundly international, since in it the CPSU takes into consideration the objective needs which are now facing mankind. It is the embodiment of real humanitarianism. It does not contain a single point that would subject the legal interests of other countries or peoples to the narrowly understood state interests of the Soviet Union. The program as a whole is imbued with the spirit of combining the striving of Soviet citizens for a lasting and just peace with the similar strivings -- with all the variety of specific forms of their expression -- of the masses of the people in other countries and on other continents.

The program as a whole is, on a daily basis, saturated with specific initiatives and proposals that are aimed at the attainment of understandings that conform to the interests of preventing a military danger.

If one were to summarize and briefly describe the content of the peace initiatives brought forward by L. I. Brezhnev during recent time, one could see clearly that they are all concentrated on stopping the buildup of the military threat and on discontinuing the endless armament.

An initiative that evoked the broadest response throughout the world was his message to the United Nations General Assembly that had convened for its second special session on questions of disarmament. In that message the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics assumed the obligation of not being the first to use nuclear weapons. If the other nuclear powers will make a similar pledge, this would be, in practical terms, equivalent to the banning of nuclear weapons in general.

In this same message Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that the idea of the reciprocal freezing of the nuclear arsenals -- as the first step on the path to reducing them, and, in the final analysis, their complete elimination -- is close to the Soviet point of view. Moreover, our country has also been making concrete proposals that are aimed at stopping the nuclear arms race in the quantitative and qualitative regards.

And finally, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, one must not forget that the countries' arsenals also contain other means of mass destruction, including chemical weapons. Comrade Brezhnev pointed out, "It is necessary to do everything to assure that no place remains on earth for chemical weapons. The Soviet Union is a convinced proponent of this. We are ready without any delay to come to an understanding about the complete banning of chemical weapons and eliminating reserves of them"³².

The Peace Program is not partitioned off from any other initiatives that are proceeding in the same direction. It includes within itself the genuine readiness of the Soviet Union, without any preconceived notions, to consider and adopt any proposals, whatever their origin, that are aimed at reinforcing the peace and international security. And in all these senses the Peace Program is intended to gain the support on the part of all the other peace-loving forces, support that is fully understood, support on the part of people who have been inspired by those same feelings of concern for the preservation of the peace which imbue the Soviet Peace Program. And the Peace Program, to a constantly growing degree, is meeting this kind of support.

Thus, the Soviet Peace Program has a solid foundation -- the scientific basis and support of the progressive forces of modern times. Its Marxist-Leninist tradition also contains its innovation: its striving toward the future -- a striving that is not speculative, but, rather, is real, a striving that is aimed at breaking everything that is obsolete in international relations, at confirming that which corresponds to the needs of the masses of the people, of mankind as a whole.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Materialy XXIV s"yezda KPSS* [Materials of the 24th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1971, p 29.
2. *Ibid.*, p 30.
3. See: A. A. Gromyko, *Vo imya torzhestva leninskoy vneshney politiki. Izbrannyye rechi i stat'i* [In the Name of the Triumph of the Leninist Foreign Policy: Collected Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1978, p 405.
4. *Materialy XXV s"yezda KPSS* [Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 27.
5. *Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS* [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 31.
18. *Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS*, p 31.
19. B. N. Ponomarev, *Izbrannoye. Rechi i stat'i* [Selected Works: Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1977, p 407.
20. K. Marks [Marx], F. Engel's [Engels], *Soch.* [Works], Vol 22, p 394.
21. V. I. Lenin, *Poln. sobr. soch.* [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 396.

22. *Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS*, p 30.
23. L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i* [On Lenin's Course: Speeches and Articles], Vol 6, Moscow, 1978, p 215.
24. L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rechi i stat'i*, Vol 5, Moscow, 1976, p 320.
25. "Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's Speech in the Hero-City of Kiev," PRAVDA, 10 May 1981.
26. K. U. Chernenko, *Sveryayas' s Leninyem, deystvuya po-Leninski. Doklad na torzhestvennom zasedanii v Moskve, posvyashchennom 111-y godovshchine so dnya rozhdeniya V. I. Lenina, 22 aprelya 1981 goda* [Comparing Oneself with Lenin, Operating in the Leninist Style: Report at a Solemn Session in Moscow That Was Dedicated to the 111th Anniversary of the Birth of V. I. Lenin, 22 April 1981], Moscow, 1981, p 16.
27. L. I. Brezhnev, *O vneshney politike KPSS i Sovetskogo gosudarstva. Rechi i stat'i* [The Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State: Speeches and Articles], Moscow, 1978, p 13.
28. *Ibid.*, p 353.
29. L. I. Brezhnev, *Leninskim kursom. Rechi, privetstviya, stat'i* [On Lenin's Course: Speeches, Messages of Greeting, Articles], Vol 8, Moscow, 1981, pp 664-665.
30. L. I. Brezhnev, *O vneshney politike KPSS i Sovetskogo gosudarstva*, p 383.
31. See: *Konferentsiya kommunisticheskikh i rabochikh partiy Yevropy. Berlin, 29-30 iyunya 1976 goda* [Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe: Berlin, 29-30 June 1976], Moscow, 1977, p 75.
32. PRAVDA, 16 June 1982.

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5075

CSO: 1807/9

INTERNATIONAL

SWEDISH PAPER ON SOVIET CURTAILMENT OF RADIO, MAIL TIES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Sep 82 pp 1, 24

[Article by Staffan Teste: "Alarm From Estonia: Soviets Sabotage Radio From Sweden"]

[Text] Soviets Jam Swedish Programs

Listeners in the Soviet Union can no longer hear the Russian-language broadcasts of Radio Sweden.

The Soviet Union has begun to transmit its own programs on the same frequencies as the Russian-language broadcasts of Sweden, Canada, the Vatican and Monte Carlo and this "jams" the foreign programs. It is the first time in 15 years that radio broadcasts from Sweden aimed at the Soviet Union have been jammed.

The Soviet Union no longer wants the country's inhabitants to be able to listen to broadcasts in Russian from Radio Sweden. For the first time since these broadcasts began 15 years ago the Soviet Union has begun to jam them.

A citizen of the Soviet republic of Estonia has drawn attention to the matter in a letter which reached Sweden despite postal censorship. The Soviet Union has begun transmitting its own broadcasts to the Middle East and Southeast Asia on precisely the same frequency as the one used by Radio Sweden.

This has made it virtually impossible to understand the Swedish broadcasts in Russian, the author of the letter writes.

The radio jamming is the latest feature used by the Soviet Union to isolate its population from "disturbing" elements from the West.

Earlier, telephone traffic to Sweden, Finland Japan and practically all of Western Europe was cut back. At the turn of the year the number of Estonian periodicals to which foreigners can subscribe will be reduced.

Letters Do Not Arrive

Packages sent to Soviet citizens no longer arrive. Convicted persons and their families are blacklisted and prevented from receiving letters and mail. The restrictions on Soviet inhabitants sending packages abroad have increased, and only a limited portion of their mail reaches other countries, regardless of whether it is registered or not.

Soviet books older than 5 years may no longer be exported from the country.

The Soviet Union has always more or less forcefully jammed radio stations. After the Soviet Union sent its soldiers into Afghanistan in December 1979 the radio jamming increased. The Russian-language broadcasts by Radio Sweden were some of the few foreign broadcasts in Russian which could still be received in Estonia, among other places.

"An 'indirect' method of jamming has now begun to be used," it says in the letter from Estonia. Domestic programs are being broadcast on the frequencies used by the radio stations of Sweden, Canada, Monte Carlo and the Vatican for their Russian-language programs.

Reception conditions become impossible. If the countries involved were to complain, the Soviet side can always say that it is "interference with internal affairs."

Radio Group Threatened

The Estonian writer of the letter also draws attention to the fact that Soviet authorities again are clamping down hard on those who have radio listening as a hobby, so-called DX-ers.

"The history of 1974 is being repeated," it says in the letter; 1974 was the year in which the Soviet authorities prohibited Soviet youth from organizing so-called DX clubs.

The Soviet authorities recently tried to break up a group of young Soviet people who had shortwave radio listening as a hobby. They were summoned to the security police for interrogation, where they were officially admonished to cease all shortwave activity and correspondence.

They were threatened with reprisals directed both at themselves and their families if they did not obey the ban, which was motivated by the statement that "shortwave radio is the tool of the imperialist intelligence service."

First Time

People at Radio Sweden are surprised at the jamming which now affects the Russian-language programs:

"This is the first time since 1967 that we have heard that our transmissions are being jammed," program director Hans Wachholz said. "In spite of all the crises

in previous years we have been able to determine that our transmissions remained undisturbed, although we knew that German, U.S. and English foreign-language broadcasts were jammed."

"We have now turned to the Swedish Telecommunications Agency in order to let them try to find out what effect Soviet domestic broadcasts may have on the listening opportunities for our Russian-language programs."

11949

CSO: 3650/7

NATIONAL

FOUNDATIONS OF SOVIET NATIONALITIES' FRIENDSHIP EXPLAINED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by T. Derevyankin, chief of the National Economy and Economic Thought History Department of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute and a candidate of economic sciences: "The Basis of Fraternal Friendship"]

[Text] Our great motherland is preparing to celebrate a glorious jubilee-- the 60th anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics -- in a fitting manner. During this time, the country of the soviets has travelled a path equal to centuries. The heroic efforts of the Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party, have been crowned by the construction of developed socialism in the USSR. A national economic complex, which is based on a highly developed large machine industry, has become the economic foundation of the socialist society in our country.

The national economic complex of the USSR is a unified socialist national economy which is organically interconnected on a country-wide scale, which includes the national economies of the union republics, and which is developing in accordance with a single state plan in the interest of the entire country and of each republic in particular. It is pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR that a great brotherhood of working people and a sense of a unified family arose and that an unbreakable Leninist friendship between peoples took shape during the creation of the new society.

The formation of a single national economic complex for the USSR was inseparably linked with the implementation of the Leninist plan for the construction of socialism and the Leninist nationality policy. On the eve of the Great Patriotic War the national economy of the USSR acquired -- with the achievement of the complete victory of socialism -- all the basic features of organic unity and complexity. In other words, a system of centralized state planning and a union republic form for controlling the national economy was created in the USSR during the construction of socialism. In connection with this, the development of the economy based on the combining of the principle of centralized planning on a country-wide scale with the development of the economic initiatives of the union republics, local bodies and enterprises was assured.

Thanks to the pursuit of a Leninist nationality policy, not only was the principle of the political and legal equality of nations implemented at the time for the first time in history, but a lasting basis was also laid for the complete elimination of their actual economic inequalities.

In overcoming their own great difficulties, the workers of Central Russia and other comparatively well developed regions (the Ukrainian SSR and the Azerbaijan SSR) were able to allot the necessary material, financial and labor resources in order to provide considerable help to the other Soviet peoples in putting them on the path of accelerated industrialization. In accordance with a decision of the Soviet government, individual plants and factories were transplanted there from the center in order to create industrial centers in these places. A large part of the industrial capital investments went from all-union resources to the republics which had been most backward in the past. These capital investments were assimilated with the help of workers, engineers, and technicians from the country's central regions. Thanks to this, the economic and cultural backwardness of the former national outlying districts was overcome. At the same time, the rational distribution of production forces and the economic specialization of the economic regions were insured.

In this regard, it is especially important to point out that the mentioned help was already frequently combined with mutual help at the time. The following example is typical. During the socialist industrialization, a great deal of attention was paid to the Ukrainian SSR as the main coal and metallurgical base in the entire country. As a result of the selfless work of the Ukrainian people and the enormous help of all our country's fraternal peoples, the Donbass truly became during the years of the first five-year plans a real "all-union stokehold". Raised from the ruins by the common efforts of the Soviet peoples, it was also transformed into the primary school of mining expertise for workers in the other coal basins which had been created at the time in the country (the Kuznetskiy and Karagandinskiy). The bonds of friendship and cooperation between the miners of the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation began to grow stronger from that time.

With the construction of a developed socialist society in the USSR, the formation of the Soviet economy as a single national economic complex was basically completed during the postwar period. In its turn, this caused a further deepening in the internationalization of the economic life of our multinational country. On the one hand, the level of specialization of the republics in the development of those branches and production, which correspond to their natural and economic conditions, grew. On the other hand, the scope of all-union production cooperation grew a great deal. As a result, for example, products from more than 96 branches in other republics are now used in the material production of the Kazakh SSR; at the same time, Soviet Kazakhstan participates in the work of 74 branches in the fraternal republics. Such all-union construction projects as unified energy systems, gigantic oil and gas pipelines, new canals, railroads, highways, radio-relay lines, etc., connect the economies of the union republics further and more closely.

The growth and improvement of the country's national economy as a unified complex and the deepening of the internationalization of economic life are objectively contributing to a further intensification of the exchange of material and spiritual values between the nations and to an even closer uniting of the Soviet people in the struggle to achieve their common goals. In this connection, the normal rapprochement processes of the nations and the strengthening of the friendly ties between them are progressing. L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out: "The unified economic organism, which has taken shape within the entire country, is a durable material basis for the friendship and cooperation of the peoples".

In accordance with the degree of growth in the level of socialism's maturity, the Communist Party is directing the efforts of the Soviet people toward the achievement of new and higher frontiers in the construction of communism's material and technical base. This is being created on a country-wide scale according to a single plan. The very nature of the Soviet system and the nature of the Soviet national economy are causing an unheard of before strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the peoples in solving the tasks which are maturing.

Even during the prewar period, the concentration of efforts on the key socialist construction projects was an immutable law of our life. However, the very rich experience in building Dneproges, Uralo-Kuzbass, the giants of our machine building industry, and Turksib is not the property of history only. It (this experience) is the solid foundation for today's majestic deeds.

The glorious traditions, which were born during the years of the prewar five-year plans, have received further development in the many great construction projects of today. Thus, every union republic made its contribution to the construction of the Kamskiy Motor Vehicle Plant. Five thousand of the country's enterprises fulfilled orders for it. The representatives of more than 40 nationalities worked harmoniously directly in the construction areas. Whereas all of them worked on the Kamskiy Motor Vehicles Plant during the Seventies, now the Kamskiy Motor Vehicle Plant works for the entire country.

The selfless work and heroic deeds of the large army of workers is being braided into the shining wreath of friendship which is being created by the construction workers of the gigantic transportation artery -- the Baykal-Amur Railroad Mainline. Ardently responding to the party's call, tens of thousands of volunteers have come to this construction project from all the fraternal republics. The first all-union detachment of volunteers set off for there in April 1974 directly from the Kremlin after the 17th Komsomol Congress. Now, workers and specialists from 80 nationalities are constructing the Baykal-Amur Mainline.

A great deal of friendly help to the Ukrainian people from all the peoples of the country has been materialized in such a large project as the "3600" rolling mill in the Zhdanovskiy "Azovstal'" Metallurgical Plant. The mill was erected with the enormous help -- labor and deliveries -- of many production collectives. It is sufficient to say that the mill's equipment was manufactured in 214 of the country's enterprises.

The achievements of the people, who are moved by feelings of fraternal friendship and cooperation, are no less majestic in such an important branch of the economy as agriculture. In accordance with the will of the party and the Soviet people, the transformation of the non-chernozem zone of the RSFSR has now become one of the critical work sectors (similar to the development of the virgin and long-fallow lands during the Fifties). A broad program for the complete transformation of the region, which is directed both toward increasing the output of field and farm products and toward the up-dating of the village in general, is being carried out here through the joint efforts of all the republics. Friendship and cooperation have already brought and are bringing noticeable benefits.

The Food Program, which was approved by the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and on whose implementation the workers of all the union republics are working, is an enormous sphere for the application of common work and mutual help.

It is important to note that the acceleration of economic and social development is exerting a direct influence on the national composition of the populations of our republics and economic regions. The discovery and opening up of natural riches, the creation of new industrial centers, the development of new lands, the development of modern types of transportation -- all this is causing an expansion in the exchange of cadres between the republics and an increase in the population's mobility in general. As a result, the composition of the population in each republic is acquiring more and more an international character. For example, representatives of 120 nations and nationalities are living and working in the Ukraine, of more than 100 in the Uzbek SSR, and of 100 nationalities in the Kazakh SSR.

The fact that the production collectives in all the republics are becoming more multinational is a logical expression of the above mentioned processes. The more that the collectives become multinational, the greater will they begin to personify the primary cells of Soviet society. L. I. Brezhnev has said: "The workers of all nationalities who are united in harmonious production collectives-- these are the ones who are creating industrial installations no matter where they are located, constructing railroads, and building the canals, oil pipelines and electrical transmission lines which are uniting the different regions of our country, the union and autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts into a single economic whole". The progressive nature of these collectives is determined by the fact that they organically combine national peculiarities with international, socialist, and common Soviet features and traditions.

Within the framework of the single national economic complex and on the basis of its wonderful school of international indoctrination, socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward work have become two of the most important ways to strengthen the friendship and brotherhood of workers of different nationalities.

In this regard, the fact that socialist competition -- having exceeded the bounds of individual production collectives -- is more and more being transformed into a competition between branches of industry, between large industrial rayons and between oblasts and republics, is especially valuable.

The mutual enrichment of all Soviet peoples with progressive experience continually takes place in the competition -- which has deep traditions -- between the work collectives of the different republics. The competition to greet the 60th anniversary of the creation of the USSR in a worthy manner has been widely spread in our republic just as in the entire country. In doing this, a special role in the obligations of the work collectives is being allotted to the accurate fulfillment of inter-republic product deliveries.

All this is contributing to the work and political solidarity of the collectives in all union republics and to a deeper sense of the "feeling of a single family".

During the stage of developed socialism, the peoples of the country of the soviets -- guided by the Communist Party -- are solving tasks of a scale which has been unheard of before. The achievement of the frontiers, which have been outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress, will be another large step forward in the quantitative and qualitative development of the single national economic complex and in the creation of communism's material and technical base. This means that the economic basis of the friendship and brotherhood of the USSR peoples -- the most important moving force for the development of a Soviet society and the force which gives birth to the unprecedented creative energy of the popular masses and which unites the numerous streams into one powerful current of creative activity in the name of USSR prosperity -- will become even stronger.

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NATIONAL

'CONVINCE MY DAUGHTER NOT TO LEAVE WITH FOREIGN HUSBAND,' MOTHER APPEALS

Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by S. V.: "Help Me to Convince My Daughter: Very Personal"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

I have read your "Wormwood of a Foreign Land" and I would like to make this request: help me to persuade my daughter that she should not leave with her foreign husband.

For eight years my daughter Galina has been married to a citizen of one of the developing countries. Both of them are graduates of the Odessa Polytechnical Institute. He is a postgraduate student and she is an electrical engineer. They have two sons. The older one is six years old.

Galina has visited her husband's home country three times. After the last trip she came to the conclusion that she had to remain in the Soviet Union. It seemed to me that her decision was a firm one.

But suddenly, two months ago, it was as though she had been replaced by a completely different person: she made an application for permanent exit. My arguments have no effect upon her. My daughter's nervous system has been shattered. I am afraid for her. I do not dictate my will, but I am convinced: she shouldn't leave. Because of the children and because of herself.

It's a different world there. Galya is a Komsomol member, a person who is a Soviet citizen in the full sense of the word, a daughter and granddaughter of Communists. Both her grandfathers fought in wars. One died in 1943. Galya cannot live in a country where anti-Soviet propaganda is waged, and where American military bases are located.

Galina's husband has many good qualities, but he also has some that frighten me. And they have also frightened her. Moreover, he is a religious fanatic and has forced her to "accept his faith." Three years ago Galya divorced him, but she has been afraid to put the stamp to that effect in her internal passport, since it is not even known whether they are legally married.

Many girls who get married to lads from foreign countries turn out to be, somehow, intimidated by life.

Not too long ago KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA printed a little letter from a lad who had made a mistake in his life and the newspaper's conclusion about the way in which the readers could help him. At that time I thought: I wonder if people, our Soviet citizens, could also help me. And my daughter. Help me to persuade her. There is no happiness without one's Motherland. I am afraid that my daughter will come to understand this truth too late.

Of course, a person himself must be in charge of his own fate, and my daughter has the right to leave the country with a man whom she loves. But can she decide for her sons? Can she deprive them of their Motherland? Can she not think a bit about whose army they will serve in when they grow up? Or what they will defend?

When Galina read "Wormwood of a Foreign Land," she had a sudden urge to leave our city immediately, to take the boys away with her, to leave her husband behind. I do not know. Perhaps she will actually decide to do that. Help her. Help all of us -- my daughter, me, and her children, my grandsons.

5075

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NATIONAL

'PARTINAYA ZHIZN'' ON SOLVING NATIONALITY PROBLEM

Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' in Russian No 15, Aug 82 pp 3-9

[Article: "The CPSU Is the Inspirational and Organizational Force of Socialist Internationalism and Friendship among the Peoples"]

[Text] The doctrine of proletarian, socialist internationalism is an inalienable component of Marxist-Leninist theory, an extremely important instrument of the Leninist nationality problem of the CPSU, a reliable compass in the inter-relationships among the fraternal socialist countries, among the Communist and workers' parties. Universal strengthening, dissemination, and development of its principles comprises the everyday concern of our party, its Central Committee, and the General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Being an outstanding party and state leader, an internationalist-communist of the Leninist type, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has worked out in a multi-faceted way, developed, and implemented the ideas of proletarian internationalism, friendship among the peoples at the new stage of the Soviet society's move toward communism--the stage of mature socialism, under the conditions of the contemporary development of the world revolutionary process. His works constitute a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory, to the practice of building communism, and to the cause of strengthening the alliance among all progressive forces.

In these days, when Soviet people and all progressive mankind are getting ready to mark a great holiday--the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR--the Political Literature Publishing House has issued a collection by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, entitled "Ob internatsionalizme i druzhbe narodov" [On Internationalism and Friendship among the Peoples]. The book contains (in complete or extract form) reports, speeches, articles, reminiscences, and greetings during the period from October 1964 through October 1981; it reveals all the principal aspects which characterize the CPSU and the Soviet state as consistent conductors of proletarian, socialist internationalism and elucidates their very rich experience with regard to implementing the principles of international solidarity among working people.

On its glorious 60th anniversary the Soviet Union, created by the will of the party and the people, demonstrates to the entire world the triumph of the Leninist nationality policy and the historical achievements of socialism. In our country a developed socialist society has been built, embodying the socio-political and ideological unity of Soviet people, their rallying around our native Communist Party. It has guaranteed the de jure and de facto equality of all nations and nationalities,

among which have been formed relationships of genuine equity, fraternal mutual aid and cooperation, respect and mutual trust. The socialist way of life has been consolidated. Strengthened still more has been the unbreakable alliance between the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. All this is the fruit of titanic efforts by the party and the people.

Analysis of the CPSU's present-day policy in the sphere of nationality building within the USSR is based in the book on a profound study of the historical experience of the past, of the socio-economic and political roots of friendship among the Soviet peoples, which became a splendid example of international unity for the countries of the socialist community. The friendship among the Soviet peoples, their proletarian internationalism extend their roots back into that historical period when the peoples of tsarist Russia entered the common ranks of the fighters against autocracy, against exploitation and oppression. The militant, revolutionary alliance of Russia's toiling masses was tempered during the period of the formation of the multinational forces of the proletarian revolution in Russia, as well as in the crucible of the Great October Socialist Revolution. "One of the remarkable traits of the October Revolution," the book states, "was the proletarian internationalism which tied together with strong knots the workers of Russia with their class brothers throughout the entire world. It can be stated on completely firm grounds that the victory of the October Revolution was also a victory for the international brotherhood of working people, a victory for proletarian internationalism. Fighting in the ranks of the Red Army, shoulder to shoulder with the sons of the peoples of our country were Hungarians and Poles, Serbs and Croats, Czechs and Slovaks, Bulgarians and Austrians, Germans and Finns, Rumanians and Mongols, Koreans and Chinese, along with members of many other nationalities. This was a fighting international of revolutionaries" (p 98).

Running through many materials included in this book is the thought that the formation in 1922 of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was a new qualitative stage in the development of the friendship among the Soviet peoples and a qualitatively new stage in the emergence of proletarian internationalism. The basic interests of all the Soviet peoples, as well as the entire logic of the struggle for socialism, required the formation of a unified, multi-national socialist state. The organizing role of the Leninist party, its scientifically developed nationality policy and practical, purposive activity facilitated the utmost socio-economic, political, and cultural drawing together of the Soviet nations.

Communists have always viewed the nationality problem through the prism of the class struggle; they have considered that its solution must be subordinated to the interests of the revolution and to the interests of socialism. Therefore, in the nationality question the Communists, the fighters for socialism, consider the principal factor to be the association of working people, independently of whatever nationality they happen to belong to, in the common struggle against all types of oppression and for a new social order, free from the exploitation of the working people. "We desire a /voluntary/ alliance of nations--such an alliance--" emphasized Vladimir Il'ich, "which would not allow any sort of assault by one nation against another--such an alliance which would be based on the fullest confidence, on a clear awareness of fraternal unity, on completely voluntary agreement" [words enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface] ("Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 40, p 43). The Soviet Union became such a voluntary alliance of nations.

The formation of the USSR was a direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution and a practical embodiment of V. I. Lenin's internationalist precepts. Embodied in the world-historical act of the formation of the USSR were the aspirations of all the Soviet peoples, the ideas of Lenin and the Communist Party about consolidating the fraternal alliance of the liberated nations, about the close association of the working people of all the republics in building socialism and communism. The decisive role in creating a unified, union-type state was played by the RSFSR, around which all the Soviet republics rallied on voluntary principles. Being the first multi-national Soviet state, the RSFSR was the prototype of the USSR. Without heeding difficulties and deprivations, the Russian people rendered unselfish aid to the other peoples of the country in defending their revolutionary gains, and they made a priceless contribution to overcoming the backwardness of the former national outlying areas.

"In creating a multi-national socialist state," the book notes, "our party took fully into account all the newness and complexity of this problem. We have always borne in mind Lenin's words to the effect that only enormous attentiveness to the interests of the various nations eliminates the soil for conflicts and creates firm confidence among workers and peasants who speak various languages. This firm confidence, about which V. I. Lenin spoke, has been attained by the Communist Party and the Soviet people" (p 497).

The general, basic class interests of the working people of the Soviet nations, which were manifested during the period of the preparation for and conduct of the October Revolution, the creation of the USSR, found still greater depth, scope, and effectiveness during the period of socialist changes. The book notes that the liquidation of the exploiter classes, industrialization, collectivization, and the cultural revolution became links in the unified revolutionary process which led to cardinal changes in the relations between classes and nations. "All the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union," it is noted in the book, "have entered upon the path of prosperity, and they have achieved enormous successes in the development of industry, agriculture, science, and culture. Socialism has put into operation such a powerful, moving force of our development as friendship among the peoples. The unity of the multi-national Soviet people is as solidly hard as a diamond. And like a diamond its multi-colored facets sparkle with light; thus the unity of our people sparkles with the diverse forms of the nations which comprise it; each of them lives a rich, full-blooded, free, and happy life" (p 492).

Soviet socialist internationalism passed through a severe testing during the years of the Great Patriotic War. The entire friendly family of Soviet peoples, welded together by the unbreakable bonds of brotherhood, became the chief hero in the unprecedented fight against German fascism.

A great deal of the book's attention is devoted to the contemporary development of Soviet nations, nationalities, and ethnographic groups, as well as to the inculcation of proletarian internationalism under the conditions of a developed socialist society. The further drawing together of our country's nations and nationalities constitutes an objective process. "In our country," the book says, "national feelings and the worth of each person are respected. The CPSU has fought and always will decisively fight against such phenomena alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic dislocations, whether it be,

let's say, Anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are opposed to the trends which are aimed at artificially erasing national characteristics. But, to the same extent, we deem it intolerable to puff them up artificially. The party's sacred duty is to inculcate in the working people a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a proud feeling of belonging to an integrated, great Soviet Motherland" (p 668).

While speaking at ceremonial occasions in Tashkent, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted the enormous vital force of the friendship among the Soviet peoples, the manifestation of internationalism in specific matters. "...Internationalism under the conditions of our multi-national country today," he said, "is primarily the honorable, conscientious, and completely devoted labor of all the peoples of the country for the common good. This is the ability to place the over-all, state interests above the departmental, local interests, to ensure the precise operation of the country's integrated, national-economic complex. This is the on-schedule and high-quality completion of all inter-republic tasks, the maximum utilization of our own resources, the active participation in solving those problems on which depend the upsurge of the economy and the prosperity of the entire people."

Also emphasized in this speech was the fact that the composition of the population of the Soviet republics is multi-national. Hence it is necessary to strive to bring about a situation whereby the nations and nationalities of each republic have the representation which they should in its party and state organs. Of course, with a strict account of the business and ideological-moral qualities of each person. Such a line corresponds to the directives of the 26th CPSU Congress and to the precepts of Lenin, who warned against the slightest injustice, the slightest infringement on the rights and specific needs of all the nations and nationalities living in the country.

Life has clearly shown that, despite the slander of our adversaries, socialism has not only not led to the loss by peoples of their unique individual personalities, characteristics, culture, and traditions, but has raised this uniqueness to new heights and made it accessible to many other peoples. There has occurred a flowering and a mutual enrichment of the national cultures, a formation of the culture of an integrated Soviet people--a new social and international community. This process has taken place on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation, and voluntarism. Herein lies one of the clear testimonies of the triumph of the Leninist principles of nationality policy.

Our party has consistently followed a course of steadily increasing every republic's material and spiritual potential and, together with this, its maximum utilization for the purpose of harmonious development of the entire country, the improvement and expansion of inter-republican ties, as well as improvement of the exchange of the rich experience in economic construction and of personnel. In recent years a particularly great amount has been done in order that the political equality of the Union republics and the friendship among the peoples of the USSR be strengthened by evening out the levels of their economic development, and this constitutes a firm foundation for further consolidating all the peoples of the Soviet multi-national Motherland.

One of the central positions of the materials presented in this book is the theoretical development of the question of creating in the USSR a new historical community of people--the Soviet people. This community is based on profound, objective changes in the life of the country, both material and spiritual in nature, on the rise and development in our country of socialist nations between which a new type of relationships have taken shape. A socialist internationalist awareness, based on the communality of class, socio-economic, and political interests among the Soviet nations, has become an inalienable trait of the spiritual profile of all Soviet people, regardless of what nationality they belong to. The new Soviet Constitution has reinforced the present-day progressive trends in the national development of the Soviet peoples, the existence of the USSR as an integrated Union-type, multi-national state of workers and peasants.

Running through all the materials of this collection, devoted to the problems of solving the nationality question in the USSR, the formation of friendship among the Soviet peoples is the idea of the founding role of the Leninist party in these processes. "The meaning of party leadership," the book states, "consists of ensuring the unbreakable unity of the entire society, ensuring the purposive, coordinated development of all the components of the social organism. Aside from the Communist Party, we have no, nor can there be any other, political organization which would take into consideration the interests and the characteristics of all the classes and social groups in our country, of all the nationalities and national groups, of all the generations, and which would combine these interests in its own policy" (p 493).

The right to be the leader of the working people of all the nations and nationalities of the country was won by our Leninist party by its unceasing defense of the basic interests of the working class, the very broad masses, by its devotion to the ideals of communism, by its very great attention to the national interests and the feelings of all the peoples. To the cause of the social and national liberation of the country's peoples, the upsurge of their economy and culture, the party has invested its unceasing toil, talent, and the spiritual ardor of Communists, as well as the skills and organizational arts of personnel.

During the six and a half decades of the Soviet state's existence the experience of solving the nationality question in the USSR has received worldwide recognition. For all those fighting for social and national liberation it has become an inspiring example for the socialist rebirth of nations, the creation of new, equitable, fraternal relations among the peoples. This experience has particular importance in the matter of building relations between the states of the socialist community, who see in it a splendid example of genuine, selfless friendship and cooperation among the peoples.

The book emphasizes that building communism is not only the great goal of the Soviet people but also the fulfillment of their own international obligation to the community of socialist countries, to the worldwide working class, and to the liberation movement, that the national and international tasks of the socialist revolution and building socialism and communism are inextricably tied together. And, therefore, Soviet patriotism is considered by every aware Soviet person to be inextricably tied up with proletarian, socialist internationalism. "This is why the ardent feeling of love for the Soviet Fatherland, a desire to make it still

more powerful and beautiful is combined in Soviet people with a feeling of brotherly love toward the other socialist countries, with a feeling of militant solidarity with all fighters against social and national oppression" (p 80).

In the materials of this book considerable attention has been paid to such a new problem for Marxist-Leninist science as the theoretical generalization on the implementation of Marxist-Leninist positions on the principles of mutual relationships among the states of victorious socialism, the principles of their emergence and development. Among the states which form the world system of socialism a new, unprecedented type of relations have taken shape, based on the principles of socialist internationalism. The development of these relations is a complex, multi-faceted process. During its course it is necessary to be constantly concerned about the correct combination of national interests of each individual country with the interests of the socialist world as a whole, with the international goals of the working class and all revolutionary, liberation forces struggling against imperialism.

The collection emphasizes that the CPSU has steadily striven and will continue striving to fully utilize all internal possibilities for strengthening and developing to the utmost socialism and communism within the country, for supporting and unleashing the revolutionary struggle throughout the world. The Leninist party understands its international duty as the effect on the world revolutionary process by its own example, by its own economic, political, and cultural achievements, as aid to peoples which have been subjected to aggression and which are struggling for their own national, political, and economic liberation, for social progress; as a struggle for peace throughout the world, under the conditions of which the most favorable opportunities are being created for manifesting all the advantages of the socialist system over the capitalist system, for unleashing the revolutionary and liberation movement. "Life," the book remarks, "with every passing day convinces us more and more of the following: a person cannot be a Communist who throws aside our movement's most powerful weapon--proletarian internationalism, who replaces the international unity and militant solidarity of the revolutionary forces with a narrow-minded nationalism, alien to our ideology, one who sows discord, thereby aiding our class enemy..." (p 96).

In analyzing the experience of the world revolutionary movement, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reminds us of the Leninist position that the successes of this movement depend, to a large extent, on the solidarity and cooperation of all its detachments. The unity of the revolutionary forces rests on a reliable foundation. Each of these forces solves its own problems, but they have a common foe--imperialism; they have common goals--the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace, democracy, and freedom. All this dictates the need to unite the efforts of the three great revolutionary forces of the present times--the world system of socialism, the international workers' and communist and national-liberation movements in a general offensive against imperialism.

The socialist community is a completely new type of international alliance. It is a fraternal family of peoples, guided by Marxist-Leninist parties, welded together by a common world-view, common lofty goals, relations of comradely solidarity and mutual support. Such an alliance is radically different from the relations among states within the capitalist system, where a gain by one state, as a rule, represents a loss for another one.

The relations among the states which form the world system of socialism are characterized by growing economic, political, and cultural cooperation, which has led to the peoples drawing closer together. This is an historically justified principle, and it is irresistably laying down a road for itself.

The socialist community of states has developed not as a series of individual countries but as a system whose parts are closely inter-related with each other. Moreover, each state contributes something unique to the common cause of building a new life. There is a substantial contribution by each people, by each Marxist-Leninist party to the international treasure of socialism. The socio-economic, political, and cultural experience of every country is indeed invaluable for the general socialist cause.

"For us," the author writes, "it has become necessary to study each other's experience, to extract everything valuable and useful from this experience. The forms and methods of our cooperation are constantly being perfected in accordance with the needs and problems of our countries. Each country draws for itself from the experience of another country that which genuinely suits it and which is advantageous for it. It is only on this basis that the exchange of experience becomes an operational engine of progress" (p 77).

A great deal of space in the book is occupied by questions of the ideological activity of the parties of the fraternal countries. Building developed socialism and communism presupposes an increased attention to the development of science and culture, to the problems of the communist indoctrination of the masses. On the other hand, under the conditions of an increasingly fuller affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social systems, particular importance is assumed by the struggle of ideas, the activation of efforts to disseminate the truth about socialism in the world, and the struggle against all types of ideology hostile to socialism. The results of the work being jointly conducted along all these lines is quite impressive. "Look," the book states, "at how many joint discussions are now taking place on urgent theoretical problems, at how many scientific works are being published, created by groups of authors from various socialist countries. There is increasingly more active establishment of cooperation among the academies of sciences of the socialist states in the fields of history and philosophy, economics and law, and other branches of the social sciences. Cultural ties among the socialist countries are becoming ever more extensive, richer, and more interesting" (p 294).

The implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism in the vital, constant practice of relations among the fraternal countries facilitates not only the most consistent defense of the interests of the community in all the spheres of social life but also aids in most fully and harmoniously combining the national and international interests of these countries. Each socialist state, as a sovereign political formation, has its own specific, national, foreign-policy tasks; however, the coordination of the foreign policies of the countries within the socialist community is facilitated by the fact that the fraternal countries, while strengthening international cooperation as a whole, are, at the same time, actively helping each other to ensure their own national interests, to defend their own sovereignty. The processes of integration among the socialist countries lead to their drawing increasingly closer together, but this does not erase national specifics or the historical characteristics of the socialist countries. In the

diverse forms of their social life and the organization of their economies we must see what is actually the case: an abundance of paths and methods to affirm the socialist way of life.

The emergence and development of an alliance of free peoples, the book notes, is a large and lengthy process. It is already complicated by the fact that completely new, historically unprecedented paths of inter-governmental relations are being laid down. And also by the fact that we must overcome a not insignificant load of various vestiges which have remained in people's consciousness as an inheritance from the exploiter system which was overthrown. We need a great deal of effort and patience, as well as circumspection, in order to, guided by the great Leninist ideas, gradually and consistently create new relations among the peoples who have entered upon the path of socialism.

These natural difficulties are exacerbated by the deceitful tactics of imperialism as well. Our class enemies are attempting to find a weak link in the socialist front, to undermine the solidarity and brotherhood of the peoples, to drive wedges into the relations among the socialist countries, and to inflame nationalistic feelings in all manner of ways. The imperialist, aggressive circles of the United States are acting as the true inspirational forces of such a policy. Adventurism, a readiness to stake the vital interests of mankind in the name of their own narrow, selfish purposes, threats, bribery, ideological diversions, the imposition of their own will with the aid of political pressure, economic and military blackmail --such is the genuine appearance of American imperialism.

"The forces of imperialism and reaction," the book states, "are striving to deprive the people of now one, now another socialist country of the sovereign right which they have gained to ensure the prosperity of their own country, the well-being and happiness of the broad masses of working people by means of building a society which is free from any kind of oppression and exploitation. And when infringements on this right encounter a friendly rebuff on the part of the socialist camp, the bourgeois propagandists raise a hue and cry about the "defense of sovereignty" and "non-interference." It is clear that this is the purest deceit and demagoguery on their part. In fact, these shouters are concerned not about preserving socialist sovereignty but about destroying it" (pp 124--125). Experience in the struggle and a realistic account of the situation which has taken form in the world testifies with all clarity to the fact that the Communists have a vital need to hold high the banner of socialist internationalism, to constantly reinforce the strength and solidarity of the world-wide communist movement, decisively expose imperialism, headed up by the United States, the adventuristic policy of the Reagan administration, to give a crushing rebuff to right-wing opportunism, "left-wing" sectarianism, chauvinism, and hegemonism. Firm and consistent defense of proletarian internationalism is one of the principal conditions for successfully building socialism and communism, along with the successful struggle by the world socialist system against imperialism.

The materials of this collection have clearly demonstrated that one of the highest manifestations of the internationalism of the CPSU's foreign policy was and remains the struggle for peace on Earth. "Our foreign policy is internationalist," notes the author, "since the interests of the Soviet people coincide with the interests of the toiling masses in all countries of the world. It is permeated

by a spirit of solidarity with the revolutionary, progressive forces throughout the world and constitutes an active factor of the class struggle in the international arena..... The spirit of revolutionary internationalism permeates all the activity of the October Revolution's homeland in the world arena, and we, the Soviet people, will always be faithful to this noble principle...." (p 104).

In this collection the reader will find materials which demonstrate the practical measures and initiatives of the CPSU, the Soviet state, the fraternal parties and countries, directed at defending the peace and security of the peoples, curbing the arms race, and averting nuclear catastrophe. By all their spirit and contents these materials convince us that Soviet Communists regard the struggle for peace and social progress as the international cause of all the Communist parties.

Soviet Communists, the collection notes, can declare with complete justification that all their activities are inspired by the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism. This is also manifested in the fact that the CPSU regards the building of communism in the USSR as the Soviet people's principal international duty to the revolutionary movement, to mankind, and in the fact that the Leninist party is constantly strengthening the community of socialist countries, is maintaining a course aimed at developing multi-faceted cooperation among them, based on respect for sovereignty, equal rights, fraternal, mutual aid, and in the fact that the CPSU is helping in all manner of ways the forces of social and national liberation, is unwaveringly conducting a policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social structures, is struggling to strengthen the peace and security of peoples, as well as to avert a world-wide, thermonuclear war.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book, "On Internationalism and Friendship among the Peoples," which came out on the eve of the glorious jubilee of the formation of the USSR, is a major event in our country's ideological-political life. Its materials arm the leading personnel and all Communists with important theoretical conclusions and practical positions and aid them to more clearly realize the party's international tasks, as well as to further strengthen by all measures our extremely great historical achievement--the unbreakable friendship among the peoples of the USSR.

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NATIONAL

STRONG MEASURES NEEDED TO COMBAT LABOR ABSENTEEISM

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by V. Sapov: "Shirkers"]

[Text] The article "Who Will Stop A Shirker", which was published in PRAVDA on 21 April, evoked extensive reader mail. Workers, kolkhoz farmers, party and soviet workers, managers, specialists, scientists -- everyone to whom the good name of a worker is dear -- heartily responded to this article. The anger and indignation, which are caused by those who evade socially useful work, get drunk, and jump from place to place in search of easy earnings, are understandable. Yes, how could one be silent?! The figure of a shirker is painfully unattractive. You see, he not only discredits the honor and dignity of man by his actions but also inflicts material damage and has a bad influence on the collective, especially on the young generation.

The make-up of a shirker is not simple. Most frequently of all, he is a "high flier" or debauchee who does not think of the collective and who does not value his name. However, highly qualified workers also fall at times into the ranks of the shirkers. Here is V. Vareyev's letter from Uralsk: "One day, I met an acquaintance of mine near a wine store. I asked him: 'Are you on vacation?' He answered: 'Yes, I am on vacation.' and whispered: 'I am taking my turn at compensatory time off.'" It turned out that they had agreed in the brigade, where he works, that one individual would be continuously absent for a week, but his pay would be credited to him. It turns out that it is compensatory leave instead of absenteeism.... I was indignant when I heard this. However, the person, to whom I was talking, immediately dampened my ardor: 'Don't get excited.... Come to our club and you will see my picture among the progressive workers. You see, the chiefs do not know how we are working. There is only the plan for them....' Unfortunately, the author of the letter did not wish to mention the enterprise where this was happening.

A scandalous fact has been related. It confirms once again that blabbing and impunity are engendered a great deal by an atmosphere of general forgivingness and by the fact that the necessary influence measures are not always taken against offenders.

A similar situation was specifically discussed in the report "Who Will Stop the Shirker". It is necessary to point out that the newspaper article stirred up the collective of the Altayskiy Engine-Building Association whom the article in the newspaper was about. Workers' meetings were held in its shops. The article was thoroughly and seriously discussed during a meeting of the association's party committee and in the Leninskiy raykom and Barnaul'skiy gorkom of the CPSU. As is clear from the replies which were sent to the editorial staff by M. Voronin, the general director of the association, and by M. Sidorov, the first secretary of the party gorkom, "concrete measures have been developed to improve indoctrinational work in the work collectives and to intensify the activity of the social institutes". Time will tell how effective these measures will be. The main thing is to follow a true reference point because it is difficult to solve a painful problem without the participation of party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations.

The results of an inspection, which was conducted by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, have also confirmed this conclusion once again. Dozens of enterprises were investigated by a group of its workers. And what was found out? We will cite the experiences of the Bezmeinskiy Cement Plant (Turkmen SSR) as a specific example. Every absence from work is regarded there as an extraordinary event and the sternest measures are taken. Shirkers are held strictly responsible in the brigades and in workers' meetings. The comrade's courts do not give them an easy time either. It is no accident that the amount of absenteeism has recently been cut in half and that labor productivity has been raised by more than 40 percent.

Considering the experiences of a number of enterprises, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems is developing proposals for further improving disciplinary and public influence measures for violators of discipline. At the same time, as an inspection has shown, the measures for combatting violators -- which have been provided by law -- are not being fully used in a number of enterprises. Most frequently, shirkers are deprived of bonuses and compensation based on the year's results; however, such a punishment as the deprivation of compensation for prolonged meritorious service or the loss of additional vacation time due to unbroken length of service, is employed extremely rarely.

There is something here for the trade union bodies to think about. Here is what S. Chernyavskiy, the chief of a concentrating mill, writes from Tselinograd: "The existing statute on the procedure for imposing punishments has no effect on a shirker. For example, what does the administration threaten the guilty worker with? They will point out his unworthy conduct to him, they will warn him, and they will give him a reprimand. They can transfer him to lower-paying work for a period of up to three months. However, this is almost practically never used: it is very troublesome. If the violator is in addition -- as they say -- impudent, he will wear out any director, sending appeals to the different departments, and will achieve his objective in the end".

A. Mukhin from Saratov also expressed this thought: "It is necessary for the administration and the trade union (shop) committees to fully use the right of

imposing disciplinary punishments on a violator of work discipline in the form of a transfer to a lower paying job. Besides the material factor, the moral one is also in effect here".

Of course, worker's meetings, comrade's courts, preventive councils, and our other public institutes must address disciplinary questions personally. You see, it was this that insured to a significant degree the success of the cement workers in Turkmenia. In the unanimous opinion of the readers who sent comments on the article "Who Will Stop a Shirker" to PRAVDA, public organizations will be of quite a bit of use if they exercise their rights more fully.

Yu. Baykov from the settlement of Loukhi in the Karelian ASSR thinks that the time has come to permit public organizations to use the lever of material influence more decisively in the struggle against shirkers. In expanding on this thought, A. Bazarov of Leningrad suggests raising the significance of the comrade's courts and giving them the opportunity to transfer cases on the more inveterate shirkers to peoples' courts. At first, they could impose a suspended punishment measure or sentence them to a short period of forced labor. A. Bazarov thinks: "These legislative measures will by themselves force many, who have entered on the path of maliciously violating the enterprise's labor rhythm, to think".

Without a doubt, these are extreme measures. However, you see, we are talking about applying them only against those who are quite "inveterate" offenders.

A number of readers suggest that absentee days be subtracted from vacations so that these days will not be included in the period of work service. Finally, it is necessary to also consider the periods of the absenteeism in a more differentiated manner. You see how it now turns out: Whether one does not go to work for a day, for a week -- the demand is the same. I would like to say something else: Without a doubt, it is necessary to rely on the laws; however, our main judge is nevertheless conscience. That is why it is no accident that many letter writers turn directly toward the shirkers.

A. Butovskaya, a teacher from Leningrad writes: "It is hard for me to believe that it is possible for a shirker to preserve his length of work service. Others even manage to receive 'wages' for the days which they are absent. Here is how fraud is born. It is impossible to receive pay which has not been earned! This is unnatural and immoral. It simply corrupts an individual and makes him a convinced parasite and hanger-on. What could be more terrible for a Soviet citizen?!"

It is possible to understand the indignation of the writer of this letter. A. Butovskaya was 14 years old when the war began. At the time, she lived in Komsomolsk-na-Amure. Her parents were its builders. Throughout the war years, the school girl worked with her peers from May to October in the sovkhos and kolkhoz fields. She worked from dawn to dusk. If the teenagers happened not to fulfill the daily norm even due to reasons beyond their control they deprived themselves of "wages", refusing to go to the dining hall. One can imagine how difficult this was. However, they thought: You have not worked -- you have no right to be paid. A. Butovskaya has preserved this attitude toward work throughout her life. Her

letter is a direct reproach to those who confuse the fact that an individual in our country is assured of the right to work which presupposes a high responsibility for the motherland's fate.

Here is another voice of conscience. Labor veteran I. Danilov writes from Stavropol: "I began to work as a young boy. I had the "good fortune" to be registered on the labor exchange. It was during the Twenties when hunger and devastation reigned in the country. It was not possible to provide work for everyone who needed it. However, unemployment was gradually eliminated as the result of the planned management of the national economy, and those who were born during the Thirties -- not to speak of the present generation -- have not the slightest notion about this. You simply wonder when you meet those types of people about whom the newspaper wrote in the article "Who Will Stop a Shirker".

Yes, the right to work is one of the most important social achievements of the country of the soviets. It is guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR-- the Fundamental Law of our country. Whereas unemployment is the scourge of workers in capitalist states, we -- on the contrary -- do not have sufficient working hands.

It would seem that it is necessary to value this. However, everyone does not value it. This means that it is necessary to hold those, who deviate from socially useful labor, more strictly accountable. The wages of each one of us must be earned. This is an axiom of our way of life!

8802

CSO: 1800/1351

PROVOCATIVE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL NOVEL DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Sep 82 p 3

[Review article by A. Ovcharenko, professor, honored scientist of the RSFSR:
"The Vital Link of the Times"]

[Text] The deeper a tree's roots are, the more secure it is from whirlwinds, sand-storms, or shattering hurricanes. The more distinctly a person recognizes his own past, the more confidently he moves over the land, the more boldly he looks into the future. This is why in contemporary Soviet literature and in the literature of the socialist countries such a place is occupied by the past, by disputes about it, and by conceptions of it. Written on the basis of the most stirring material, evoking broad reader interest, novels of recent times, such as, for example, "The Choice," "Thy Dawn," "The Coming Age," "Victory," abound in numerous excursions into the recent or remote past.

A unique journey into remote ages has also been undertaken by Vladimir Chivilikhin in his new novel, "Pamyat'" [Recollection] (Sovremennik Publishing House, 1982). This is a complex work, acutely contemporary in its spirit, a work on which the author spent more than 10 years not only of writing proper but also research. Immersing himself in the depths of the history of the Russian nation, and beginning almost from its very first centuries, V. Chivilikhin concentrates, as he puts it, on everything which pertains to "universal constructive history," revealing its force in the example of "Russian metal," but far from limiting himself to this example alone.

The happily discovered device of an almost uninterrupted dialogue between the interested author-narrator and the "Inquisitive Reader," a dialogue now growing into a dispute, now turning into a means of joint, scholarly quests in meditation, which leads to a situation whereby the material of history is not perceived as something self-sufficient. The goal of the author's historical searchings is to put the past into the service of the present day, of our great cause.

"Recollection," the genre of which the writer defines as a novel-essay, evokes multi-shaded, historical associations, connected with the fact that history within it proceeds through the destinies of specific persons. The pages of this book open up before the contemporary reader innumerable little windows into the past, compelling him to ponder intently on the present day. It is perceived, above all, as an anti-militaristic work, thoroughly permeated with humanistic feeling.

In the memory of mankind more than 15,000 wars have occurred. V. Chivilikhin dwells in detail on one of them--the first incursion into Rus' by the Eastern steppe nomads in the 13th century. It was the central component of that disaster about which the Arab historian, Ibn al-Asir, stated that nothing more terrible for mankind had happened since the creation of the world and nothing like it would ever happen until the end of the ages.

In 1223 on the banks of the Kalka River "there was a wicked and fierce battle." And 14 years later innumerable hordes, led by the Genghisids (the heirs of Genghis Khan) and their generals, began to appear in the outlying areas of the Ryazan lands. They brought death and destruction with them, leaving "smoke and ashes" on the sites of the cities and villages which they conquered. Since that time there is hardly a page of the Russian chronicles which does not repeat the words about wicked and fierce battles, for the defenders of Moscow, as well as the defenders of Kolomna and those of Vladimir "fought strongly."

V. Chivilikhin has verified the precise details of the fighting by the peoples of Asia and Europe against the steppe predators by consulting Russian, Mongolian, Chinese, Persian, Armenian, Hungarian, Italian, and French Medieval written sources. Desirous of breaking through all the obstacles to the truth and convinced that historical recollection is a very great spiritual value, the author has thoroughly studied and armed himself with the most diverse literary and scientific materials --ranging from the Mongolian "Secret Narrative," written in the Genghisid Empire around the middle of the 13th century, to the most recent discoveries by the following Soviet archeologists and historians: B. Rybakov, D. Likhachev, A. Okladnikov, T. Nikol'skiy. In his researches he also relies on the data of toponymy, folk legends and tales.

The compositional center of the narrative is the heroic, seven-week defense of Kozel'sk. A considerable number of vivid, dramatic, artistically impressive pages are devoted to it, and they are just about the best in the entire work. The author conducts a sharp and convincing polemic, restoring the truth of those terrible and evil times, culminating on the field of Kulikovo, where the host of Mamay was annihilated after a battle lasting for many hours.

In the open letter to his Mongolian scholar-friend which concludes the narrative V. Chivilikhin sets forth his position as a passionate supporter of peace; he wrathfully condemns the conquerors of the past as well as the adventuristic madness of the present-day hegemonists and militarists.

The author is a sharp polemicist; he has filled his work not only with interesting thoughts and pointed observations, little-known or previously completely unknown facts, but also bold hypotheses and unexpected statistical calculations. Not all of them will be unconditionally accepted by readers. Disputes will possibly be caused by V. Chivilikhin's ideas regarding the route of march taken by the Horde of Burunday after the defeat on the Siti River and the general characterization of Subuday. Among literary critics there will probably be criticism of the incommensurateness between the first and second parts of the work, as well as about a certain lack of smoothness in the composition. Other disputable points may be found in V. Chivilikhin's "Recollection." But all this, I am convinced, does not dim the reader's profound impression of an unusual and talented book.

NATIONAL

QUALITY OF RUSSIAN INSTRUCTION IN NON-RUSSIAN SCHOOLS FOUND TO BE LOW

Moscow UCHITEL'SKAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by D. Brudnyy, senior research associate of the National Schools Scientific Research Institute of the RSFSR Ministry of Education, in the column "Russian Language in National Schools": "We Must Teach To Speak Beautifully and Expressively"]

[Text] Moscow--Obviously, even in the same grades, Russian speech skills in schools in different parts of the country are different. Many factors contribute to this: environment, teaching methods, amount of reading of Russian language fiction and, of course, the student's capabilities. Take the first of the listed factors. Children often speak their native language at home and at school. That is why it should be taken into account that in their practical mastery of Russian they proceed from the experience of their native tongue and tend towards its formalism. When the student speaks in Russian he "translates" his ideas. It takes time to obtain mental skills in a second language. Their accumulation is a long and different process requiring patience and persistence on the part of both student and teacher.

The extent of knowledge of a language is, as we know, a function of knowledge of the vocabulary. But is speaking correctly any less important? We frequently encounter wrong pronunciation of words, especially in national schools. Constant orthoepic mistakes result in the acquisition of a specific phonic framework similar to the native one. Pronunciation of even a separate word that does not coincide with the phonic and tonal features of Russian speech should be treated as a mistake. This aspect of instruction in Russian language is frequently neglected. Some teachers even believe that violation of orthoepic norms is a minor evil. The main thing, they hold, is to grasp the meaning; the rest is secondary. However, no literary language can tolerate distorted oral speech. Questions of orthoepy must be shown the same concern as vocabulary, logic of presentation, etc.

Oral speech, of course, requires expressive reading. Teachers often tell their students: "Read expressively." However, they fail to explain what they mean. Children have a vague idea (if any at all) about diction or the laws of pronunciation. During lessons teachers do not discuss questions of intonation or teach how to determine logical stresses. They frequently relegate all this to secondary elements of the lesson. That is why they don't always stop a student when they hear incorrect speech.

Sometimes, when studying "The Ignoramus," "The Inspector-General," "The Storm" or "The Lower Depths," the children read "for Mitrofan," "for Prostakova" or "for Skotinin." But in setting the children this task the teacher fails to orient them correctly. Dramatized reading of a play in class does not always serve its purpose. The quest for superficial impersonation of a protagonist proves detrimental to the expressiveness characteristic of oral speech with all its intonational features, to phonetically clear enunciation of individual words, to required stresses and inflections (including logical), etc. The same can be observed when reading prose excerpts. The direct speech occurring in them is hardly needed to reveal the character of the hero. It is much more important to look after the vocabulary, correct intonation, and expressiveness in sentence and dialog articulation.

Recitation of poetry usually proves even more disappointing. Some students recite poems in such a way that nothing is left of their rhythmic base. Some chant the rhymes, while some recite all poems, even lyrical ones, with pompous bombast. Moreover, the children fail to notice that an incorrectly articulated word or wrongly placed accent disrupts the rhythm.

The phonic system of the language, we could note, is not an independent vehicle for conveying an idea. It does, however, to a considerable degree contribute to the emotional character determined by the context and serves as an expression of the speaker's personal attitude towards the contents. Hence the phonic means of the language are an important element in conveying an idea.

Finally, regarding written speech. As is known, it is not restricted to orthographically correct writing. An exposition or composition may have no spelling or punctuation mistakes, but it may consist of only short, unexpanded sentences. This is an indication of limited language skills. Written speech requires an ability to convey the subject-matter and essence of the plot, to reveal independence of thought and the writer's personal perception of the actions and behavior of the protagonists. The task, we see, is considerable, but speech limitations make it impossible to resolve it. It goes without saying that such written speech (the same, incidentally, as oral speech) is completely or almost completely lacking in metaphors or the ability to make use of the tools of Russian figurative speech. The teacher is often disappointed by numerous stylistic errors. Students write (I quote from this year's graduation compositions): "Lyrical digressions serve to expand the characters' spiritual world"; "the life of landlords in the poem"; "people of the 1930's found no application for their efforts for the benefit of the people"; "his best years passed in inaction"; "Maksim Maksimovich was goodwilling to him"; and so on.

Poor skills in written speech also display themselves in a student's inability to correctly formulate an idea. Here are just two "examples" out of many: "In the comedy 'Woe From Wit' they were all witty, which caused woe"; "Chichikov bought dead souls for living ones." One also finds confusion regarding the time setting in which the protagonists act. Hence, "Tikhon goes on a business trip" ("The Storm") Or Raskolnikov becomes a "social parasite." One is reminded of Leo Tolstoy's words, "Vagueness of speech is an invariable indication of vagueness of ideas."

Consistent, logical speech follows a definite plan without which it loses its thread, becomes confused, and it is hard to understand the speaker or writer. The plan teaches one to think coherently, logically and consistently and balance the parts. Unfortunately, one of the more popular methods in school practice is the so-called three-part plan (introduction, main part, conclusion). It has become a stereotype, a schematic diagram which in the final analysis deprives the student of creative initiative and restricts and curbs his possibilities.

All this directly concerns the teaching of Russian literature in national schools. Without substantial skills in oral and written speech, literature as a school subject cannot serve as a means of educational, social and esthetic upbringing.

"In capable hands and on experienced lips," A. I. Kuprin once wrote, "the Russian language is beautiful, melodious, expressive, flexible, obedient, agile, capacious." The quests of present-day methodology must be aimed at creating the conditions in which it would be precisely that.

9681

CSO: 1800/1338

NATIONAL

'SPECTRE' OF NATIONALIST SURVIVALS OF PAST ATTACKED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 16 Sep 82 pp 2-3

[Article by G. Zimanas, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences: "Internationalism Is Our Banner"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

[Excerpt/ As a result of the process of internationalization, /a new social and international community--the Soviet people/ has taken shape in our country. The Soviet people--as a result--also constitutes the condition of the drawing together of nations. Under the conditions of a unified social and international community the genuine values of one nation become the values of all; there develops, reinforced by the USSR's Constitution, a mutual respect for the national worthiness of all nations.

The great gains made by the peoples of the USSR, as is also the case in every vital process, have been conditioned by the appearance of new tasks--in the first place--the implementation of all those possibilities which were provided by the formation of a new community in the sphere of the Soviet way of life. One of these tasks, as set forth in the decree of the CPSU CC entitled "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," consists of inculcating in all workers a feeling of common national pride in the socialist Fatherland and of ensuring a /"high cultural level of inter-national communality."/

In order to solve this problem, it is necessary, as required by the 26th CPSU Congress, to improve all ideological work.

Of course, the process of internationalization is, in and of itself, undoubtedly contradictory. Linked with this contradictory quality is the struggle /against survivals and remnants of bourgeois nationalism/, which, under certain conditions, can make themselves known in all the manifestations of the process of internationalization.

Overcoming survivals of nationalism is not just an internal matter for each individual socialist country; it is also of great international importance, for it is linked with the further strengthening of the world socialist system and the consolidation of the entire internationalist communist and workers' movement. And Lenin in his time wrote that "the more the struggle against...the most deeply ingrained petit-bourgeois national prejudices moves to the forefront, the more becomes the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national matter... to an international one."

The spectre of the survivals of nationalism is still quite widespread--ranging from extreme chauvinism and racism to hidden forms of nationalism. The ordinary consciousness can sometimes retain traces of nationalistic ideas, even though their bearers do not subjectively feel themselves to be nationalistic.

It can, obviously, be stated that /openly declared/ nationalists, those who directly deny and reject the ideas of friendship among the peoples, have seriously compromised themselves in the eyes of broad strata of the public. However, there still exist survivals in a subtle form, which have assumed a chronic, creeping character. These survivals do not also stand out noticeably. They may be manifested in the exaggeration of a national specific of one's own nation and in ignoring it in other nations. They are hidden under the guise of idealizing the past of one's own people, of individual cultural figures, of denying the law of the class struggle in the past; among some of the peoples the feudal past is perceived as a "golden age"; an attempt to prolong religious rituals is manifested under the guise of developing national traditions.

There are also persons who, for example, consider themselves to be internationalists, but who allow themselves to express distrust towards some individual nation, pointing to anti-humane activities on the part of certain of its members. But, of course, this is, let's speak frankly, a nationalistic manner.

Survivals of such a kind are also manifested in the /over-valuation/ of one's own national character or the under-valuation of other national characters. There are still such people among us for whom the most important thing in a person's characteristics is not his political position nor his moral qualities but rather his nationality. But, of course, we are all, first of all, persons, social individuals and not just members of this or that nationality.

The under-valuation of the experience in building socialism, of the culture of other peoples, is undoubtedly nationalistic in its spirit and nature. Evaluating persons on the basis of their national membership is conducive to a national enclosedness, to an under-valuation of progressive traditions both of one's own people as well as those of other nationalities, to a national mistrust, self-isolation, national egoism, and a lack of desire to render aid to another people.

It is very important to take into consideration the fact that such survivals are sometimes modified, concealed under other phenomena, and, at times, are not recognized by their bearers as being nationalistic. As is known, V. I. Lenin spoke about semi-conscious errors and conscious deceit.

Sometimes one can hear the opinion that, by allowing such an unconscious nationalism, we are thereby making it easy for the nationalists, giving them the chance to conceal their true feelings under a mask of being naive persons. The possibility that there may be persons who really do play this kind of trick cannot be excluded. However, it is quite frequently the case, we think, that such errors are actually delusions, the result of non-dialectical thinking, the inability to think through a problem to its end, as well as the inability to see in such delusions the poisonous sting of a class-alien ideology and psychology. Those who are in error certainly need to be corrected, but they should not be pasted with labels, nor should they be identified with trends and groups which are genuinely hostile to internationalism.

As a rule, the survivals of nationalism have merged with religious extremism. Of course, far from all believing nationalists and, of course, not all clergymen are struggling against the socialist organs of authority. But even while loyal to the socialist system, they are the bearers of a religious world view which is unacceptable to us. And it is completely understandable that such an organization as the church would involuntarily attract all anti-socialist elements and, in the first place, persons without firm internationalist convictions.

Therefore, nationalism sometimes adopts a religious form. This means that the struggle for internationalism must be combined with atheistic activity. The main thing here is to free more and more persons from under the influence of reactionary churchmen. The task consists of attracting believing workers, particularly those who are honorable, patriotically minded persons, despite their religious views, into the /struggle for the ideals of all working people--for peace and for an increase in the well-being of the working people/. As far back as 1905 V. I. Lenin pointed out that the unity of the revolutionary struggle with the improvement of society is "more important for us than the 'unity of the proletariat's opinions about paradise in the sky'." This does not mean that Communists should be reconciled with religion. But it is indeed important to unite workers of various views in the struggle for their main tasks. At the same time, this will also strengthen their ideological emancipation.

The affirmation of the internationalist way of life requires a deepening of the entire /world-view process/, an improvement in the formation of the communist consciousness.

The inculcation of internationalistic feelings is an important segment of ideological work. As was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, it is necessary to conduct educational work, achieving, in fact, a "unity of ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational, and economic party work." This means that we must indoctrinate by words as well as by deeds, in no case permitting a gap between them. Sometimes one can hear talk of "verbal indoctrination" only in a sharply negative sense. This is a misunderstanding. It is impossible to indoctrinate without words, as it is impossible to divorce words from deeds. It is precisely this that the formulation of the 26th Party Congress has in mind.

To achieve a unity of all types of indoctrinational work, a unity of the entire world-view process is only within the capacity of the labor group.

The labor group has all the possibilities for being concerned with a person's daily life and housing, about his working conditions. It is precisely the working conditions which constitute an extremely important factor in forming a way of life. One must not forget about satisfying a person's spiritual needs, about drawing him into active social life. If the work within the group has been correctly structured, the immediate circle can indeed create wonders in indoctrinating people, as indicated by the experience of the best groups. And this means that we must be seriously concerned about further consolidating groups, about their leaders, in the first place, about group leaders, i. e., about party organizations.

In connection with this, it is certainly necessary to improve the forms of /communication/ between persons both within the group and outside it. You know, there are quite a few groups which know only one form of communication--the meeting with a monologue by a rapporteur, who frequently just repeats commonplace verities known to everyone; moreover, the other people in the room merely look at the clock in order to see how soon they can go free. But what splendid opportunities for communication there are in any group. These include friendly conversations, interesting ways to spend leisure time, sports, and the like.

There are a considerable number of sources for poisoning people's consciousness with nationalism. But, above all, we must not forget that certain survivals can generate others. Egoism, petty tyranny, money-grubbing, bureaucratism, the support of yes-men, the suppression of criticism, accepting bribes and under-the-table payments, and black-marketeering can facilitate the revival and rebirth of nationalistic survivals, protectionism, extending favors to neighbors, etc. On the other hand, mistakes in conducting personnel policy, which requires an even-handed approach to persons of all nationalities, can bring about a response of distrust and hostility; moreover, these mistakes can be generalized without proper grounds, exaggerated, etc.

There is no doubt that one of the principal factors of negative influence on the consciousness of Soviet man is the capitalist world. The imperialists and their ideological spear-bearers are consciously placing their bets on inciting nationalism and nationalistic mistrust. Moreover, they do this slyly, preparing their materials in the manner of history, and thus also distorting our reality. For them this is an habitual matter, for nationalism is their chief weapon.

In our country a great deal has been done and is being done in the struggle against nationalism, but this task continues to be an urgent one. We must not only combat nationalism but intensify the fight for the victory of the noble ideas of internationalism and friendship among the peoples. In a socialist society internationalism and patriotism find their expression not in declarations but, for the most part, in honest labor, in the assertion of true civic-mindedness by means of one's conduct. The internationalist and patriot is not the person who proclaims in a very loud voice his love for other peoples and for the Motherland but rather the person who honestly toils for the good of all the people, who is implacable toward shortcomings, and who subjects them to criticism.

The strivings of Soviet people are for a complete unity of the country's nations and nationalities, a unity which knows no kind of national frictions, no national distrust whatsoever. Such a unity is attainable within the socialist world. It can and must be achieved while we are still under the conditions of socialism. This is one of the most important prerequisites for the transition to communism.

2384

CSO: 1800/19

NATIONAL

CHILDREN, ADULTS MUST BE TAUGHT RESPECT FOR CULTURAL MONUMENTS

[Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOL'SKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 September 1982 p 2 carries a 1,700-word article titled "One Summer Evening" by N. Azhgikhina. The article reports on a case of arson in which a 16th century cathedral and archive in Kostroma were destroyed. It calls on both children and adults to display greater respect for cultural monuments of the past and to remember that these "priceless" treasures are just that.

CSO: 1800/86

OBKOM SECRETARY ON ROLE OF PEOPLE'S CONTROLLERS

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 October 1982 p 3 carries a 3,500-word article titled "The Authority of Action" by V. Klyuyev, first secretary of the Ivanovo oblast party organization. Klyuyev details the various kinds and amounts of economic savings which have been achieved as the result of inspections carried out by people's controllers in his oblast.

CSO: 1800/87

OBKOM SECRETARY ON IMPROVING SELECTION OF CADRES

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 October 1982 carries on p 2 a 2,200-word article titled "Before Giving a Recommendation" by G. Posibeyev, first secretary of the Mari oblast party organization. Posibeyev calls on party workers to improve the selection of local cadres especially in the agricultural area in order to improve productivity and fulfill the party's food program.

CSO: 1800/70

REGIONAL

KAZAKH SUPREME COURT PLENUM COMBATS YOUTH CRIME

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 82 p 3

[Article: "Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSSR"]

[Text] The Supreme Court of the Kazakh SSR has held a plenary meeting at which it heard a report by Ye. N. Kolpovskaya, member of the Supreme Court, concerning court practices in cases of crimes by minors.

The plenum, conducted under the chairmanship of G. B. Yelemisov, noted that the courts have taken a number of steps to step up the struggle against crime among minors and give greater attention to hearing cases in this category. But there are still many shortcomings in this work. Courts must be more demanding with respect to the quality of the preliminary investigation and carefully determine whether all steps have been taken by investigative agencies to identify and bring to accountability those adult persons who involve the minors in crime or participated together with them in committing the crime.

We must insure complete and thorough clarification of the causes and conditions that foster the commission of crimes by adolescents and involve representatives of labor collectives, the public at the adolescent's place of residence, and commissions and inspectorates on the affairs of minors in the court sessions.

The records of many criminal cases involving minors testify that the circumstances that promote offenses are often serious omissions in indoctrination work by pedagogical collectives, trade union and Komsomol organizations, production collectives, the public in the adolescents' place of residence, and also parents. But many courts fail to respond in an adequately principled manner to shortcomings discovered during hearing of the cases by delivering specific judgements. The plenum urged courts to improve work on preventing offenses among adolescents. It was suggested that the collegiums on criminal affairs of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Court and the oblast courts render systematic aid to lower courts in improving the quality of the legal process in cases of crimes by minors and take prompt steps to eliminate mistakes and violations of the law.

Among those participating in the plenum were procurator of the Kazakh SSR U. S. Seitov, republic minister of internal affairs A. G. Platayev, and responsible officials of the Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, Central Committee of the Komsomol of Kazakhstan, the ministries of justice and education, and the republic State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education.

REGIONAL

KAZAKH PROCURATOR DESCRIBES FIGHT AGAINST ECONOMIC CRIMES

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by I. Katsay, first deputy procurator of the Kazakh SSR and legal advisor 3rd class, under the rubric "People and the Law": "Accountability in Economic Activity"]

[Text] Economic activity encompasses a broad range of questions. It should promote, by all possible means, accomplishment of the grandiose tasks outlined by the 26th party congress in the field of economic and social transformations.

Both the resolutions of the party congress and the Food Program adopted at the May 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee as a concrete statement and further elaboration of the resolutions of the congress serve the same noble goal: raising the standard of living of the people.

But in order to carry out our plans we must use all the potential of our economy, insure its transition to the intensive path of development, introduce strict economy for all types of resources in all places, and improve the quality of work. We also need a higher level of organization in economic activity, order and discipline in every segment of production. But this depends significantly on how we insure compliance with legal norms in the spheres of production, procurement, storage, processing of agricultural output, capital construction in the countryside, and so on.

That is why there must be further improvement of the activity of both law enforcement and controlling agencies. They must respond with the most rigorous assessment to every case of stealing and squandering of public wealth and every manifestation of mismanagement and waste. Those who do not preserve public wealth, who squander or spoil raw and processed materials, fuel, and food must always be brought to accountability, along with those who have connived in these unseemly actions.

Nonetheless, the struggle against violations of economic law is not being waged vigorously enough in certain oblasts and rayons of the republic. The loss from stealing and "disappearances," which are especially widespread in agriculture, transportation, industry, and trade, are not decreasing in certain sectors of the economy. In 1981, for example, losses from "disappearance," stealing, and spoilage of assets in the systems of the meat-dairy industry, procurement enterprises, and vehicle-road enterprises more than doubled. They also increased in the systems

of the Ministry of Domestic Services, Goskomsel'khoshtekhnika, and the Kazakh SSR Union of Consumer Societies.

Mismanagement always entails large losses no matter where it occurs, whether it is poor use of equipment, production of poor-quality output, or flagrant violations of the rules of fire safety.

And how much spoilage of output and assets is permitted! O. Oganessian, former director of the Alma-Ata fruit-vegetable depot, and other persons did not take proper steps to insure preservation of purchased potatoes and as a result tubers worth 42,000 rubles were permitted to spoil.

A number of sovkhozes and kolkhozes are not adequately combatting natural losses of livestock and stealing stock. Particularly large shortages of cattle and sheep were discovered at the Krasnokutskiy Sovkhoz in Pavlodar Oblast and of horses at the Sovkhoz imeni Kalinin in Chirchik Oblast. Criminal cases have been begun based on the facts of the "disappearances."

Following actions by procurators the people's courts of the republic have recovered losses in the amount of 4 million rubles which occurred as the result of livestock deaths. At the same time more than 42,000 actual head of cattle have been replaced.

But by no means does the state in all cases recover the material damage from those who caused it by their lack of diligence and unconscientious attitude toward their duties. In the last year the balances of unrecovered indebtedness in the ministries and departments increased. Certain managers of enterprises and organizations for some reason do not consider it their duty to initiate actions against those who cause losses or to turn over materials on them to investigative agencies. For example, the Sovkhoz imeni Abaya in Karaganda Oblast did nothing to recover a loss of 32,000 rubles.

It is alarming here that the amounts of the loss not recovered from guilty persons are often written off against production costs. More than half of the canceled sum in the systems of the Ministries of Building Materials Industry, Meat and Dairy Industry, Light Industry, Gas, and Heavy Industry Construction was written off as losses or production costs.

It is also hard to understand why local officials do not always take realistic steps to stop stealing, misuse, and mismanagement. Officials of the Kazakh SSR Administration of the Liquor Industry inspected the Kzyl-Orda liquor and vodka plant for many years in a row. Everything was fine, it seemed. Meanwhile plant director Amirseitov had not kept records of containers in order, did not keep track of the inventory of assets, and illegally wrote off glassware as broken. A shortage for a very large amount has now been discovered at the plant.

Connivance, and sometimes direct participation by executives in stealing, represents a particularly serious threat. A shortage of 46 tons of flour was discovered in the Karabutakskiy Consumer Society of Aktyubinsk Oblast in the bakery run by Valiyeva. It was determined that the shortage had come about two years earlier. Sumdetov, chairman of the board of the society, and senior bookkeeper

Shermetova connived with Valiyeva and concealed the loss. For this they were also brought to criminal court. Palatchenko, inspector in the inspection and control administration of the Kokchetav Oblast union of consumer societies who concealed a shortage of 3,565 rubles found in the work of clerk Koval' of the Leningradskiy Rayon union of consumer societies, was also found guilty in a criminal process.

A great deal depends on the timeliness and quality of inspections. But often they are done superficially and the results are not reviewed on time. In the Aktyubinsk Oblast union of consumer society the materials from inspections of rayon unions of consumer societies were not reviewed for months.

There are more than 20 departmental monitoring services in operation on the railroad. Despite this, many different kinds of offenses occur in the railroad system, including stealing freight, removing parts from equipment, above-norm car downtime, and others.

Mismanagement is also permitted in the use of agricultural land. In Kzyl-Orda Oblast 2,300 hectares of land was ruined last year by pollution with industrial waste and waste water, and another 1,000 hectares was lost this year. Many cases where private individuals have taken over land on their own are found. Law enforcement and controlling agencies, like economic managers, must firmly put a stop to such things.

False entries in state reports and other deliberate distortions of data on plan fulfillment, which occur most often in construction organizations, are a serious evil. They have not been eliminated in agriculture and other sectors either. The establishment of proper contacts between procurator agencies and state statistical institutions, Stroybank, Gosbank, control-inspection administrations, and people's control bodies, whose objective is to combat any attempts to deceive the state, will make it possible to step up work with false entries and other distortions of reports.

The quality of articles produced is a special question. For many enterprises, especially in light, food, and meat-dairy industry, the problem of quality is still very critical. Republic controlling agencies exclude large sums from report data on fulfillment on the plan for sale of output because of the production of poor-quality output; they also take away profit. The republic state arbitration tribunals settle many disputes over the quality of output by imposing fines, but they have not yet been able to achieve significant changes in this matter.

Inspections made by agencies of the procurator at the enterprises of various ministries and departments show that the main reason for production of poor-quality articles is violation of technological norms and regimes and failure to comply with technological and production discipline. The technical control departments at many enterprises are very weak. Agencies of the State Committee for Standards and State Inspectorate of Product Quality found defective goods worth 255,000 rubles at the Taldy-Kurgan Garment Factory imeni XXII S'yezda KPSS in five years, while in the same time the technical control workers of the enterprise itself found just 3,000 rubles worth.

At the present time legal measures are rarely applied to the producers of defective goods, and the loss they cause is usually written off as an enterprise loss. The enterprise legal service should have a word here. Unfortunately, it does not always play a real part in questions of the struggle for product quality.

Violations of state discipline are permitted in performance of delivery contracts which causes considerable losses to the republic economy. Last year the Alma-Ata Porshen' Plant failed to deliver parts worth 190,000 rubles to associations of RSFSR Goskomsel'khovtekhnik. For this it paid substantial fines.

Plant managers used the excuse that the railroad let them down. Nonetheless, they wrote off the losses as production expenditures.

The Alma-Ata Carpet Factory failed to deliver 5,000 square meters of carpet to the trade network in a number of oblasts, while at the same time shipping 6,500 square meters of these products beyond the contract to other customers. A resolute campaign must be conducted against such a high-handed approach.

Inspections testify that controlling agencies have begun to devote more attention to observance of trade rules. But violations of trade rules, speculation and bribery in the sale of scarce goods, short-weighting and short-changing of customers still occur. Iskakov, director of the Karaganda Sporttovary Association, Savchenko, director of autonomously financed Store No 19 of the Sovetskiy Rayon Food Enterprise of Karaganda, and others who took up the path of crime for the sake of profit were sentenced to 10 years in jail.

The task of law enforcement and controlling agencies and state and public organizations is to combine their efforts in the fight against mismanagement, false reporting, and production of poor-quality and nonstandard output. The party demands this of us. At the same time, as comrade L. I. Brezhnev observed, the significance of discipline and personal accountability increases greatly under contemporary conditions. This applies particularly to the accountability of economic, Soviet, and party leaders.

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CSO: 1830/13

REGIONAL

UKRAINE WRITERS, ARTISTS VIEW FLOWERING OF CULTURE

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 30 Sep 82 p 2

[Article: "The Life-Giving Strength of Brotherhood"]

[Excerpts] Our people view with pride and admiration the majestic path which has been travelled during the last 60 years by the multinational Soviet state to whose lot fell the historic mission of being the trailblazer to the shining future of mankind. The stages of this glorious path, which has been illuminated by the Leninist ideas of internationalism, and the wonderful world of the spiritual achievements of the peoples of the country of the soviets are finding a brilliant reflection in books, on artistic canvases, in films, and in musical and stage productions.

During a joint plenum of the boards of the Ukrainian SSR creative unions and societies which was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR and which was held on 29 September in the Kolonnyy Hall imeni N. K. Lysenko of the Kiev State Philharmonic Society, the subject concerned the achievements and tasks of Ukrainian literature and art and the unity of the fraternal cultures.

The presidium consisted of A. S. Kapto, candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party; P. Ye. Yesipenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of ministers; L. M. Kravchuk and Ye. V. Kunda, Central Committee department chiefs of the Ukrainian Communist Party; the directors of ministries, departments, and creative unions and societies; famous literary and artistic figures; and representatives of party, soviet and public organizations.

N. P. Bazhan, a poet, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences academician and Hero of Socialist Labor, opened the plenum. He said that we have assembled together here; we, workers from the different branches of art in the Soviet Ukraine-- writers and artists, journalists and composers, architects and cinematographers, and theatrical figures. We are people of different artistic professions, different ages and natures, of different tastes and inclinations; however, we are all united in our ideological communist aspirations and in our devotion to the people and to the party and its domestic and foreign policy. We are filled with a creative sense for the greatness and profound substance and importance of that great holiday of all the people which is approaching -- the 60th anniversary of the formation of the first state of free and equal peoples in the history of mankind

-- the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which was created based on voluntary agreement, on the yearning for an unshakable unity and friendship which was developed during the struggle for social and national liberation and which was tempered in the fires of the October revolution, and on mutual trust and mutual assistance. V. I. Lenin -- it was he, the greatest architect of the new world and the sagacious creator of the bright future of all peoples, who laid the foundations for that monolithic state structure which is growing in power with each year and with each day.

Our hearts are filled with pride for our homeland and for our state. Its power is in the Leninist direction of the party, its glory is in its Leninist banner of communism and peace, and its strength is in the unbreakable Leninist friendship of the peoples. The shouters of anti-Soviet propaganda, especially the American ones and their yes-men from the ranks of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, chauvinist maniacs and zionist old foxes, are pouring dirty streams of slander and lies. They are trying in vain to sow poisonous grains of dissension and distrust between our peoples, between the Russian and Ukrainian people. We know what a life-giving force the fraternal unity between Russia and the Ukraine is and what a life-giving force the creative interconnections between the Great Russian culture and the cultures of the other fraternal peoples are for Ukrainian socialist culture. We are deepening these relationships; we are internationalists and patriots.

The friendship of peoples -- N. P. Bazhan continued -- has become one of the main motifs in Soviet literature, it sounds like a harmony in Soviet music, it is being embodied in Soviet theatrical and movie forms, and the beauty and radiance of Soviet painting glorifies it. It fills and inspires the heart of every Soviet individual who -- as Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev has pointed out -- is living the full-blooded life of a creator of a new world. This individual, the hero of our times, must become the leading example of modern Soviet art and literature. The artists of the Soviet Union, including the artists of the Soviet Ukraine have given, are giving and will give their hearts, their talent, their inspiration, and their ability to the highest and brightest ideals which have ever shown on mankind -- the ideas of communism.

The joint plenum of the boards of the Ukraine's creative unions and societies, which was devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, has unfolded a majestic and beautiful panorama for the rapid flowering of the Soviet Ukraine's culture in a single union with its brother peoples. To create for the people in the interests of the common task -- it was said during the plenum -- the republic's writers and artists see their calling in this. Our land is becoming even more blooming, rich and bountiful. We expect with full justification a new upward flight of our art.

The letters of greetings to the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party; the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and the republic's Council of Ministers were adopted with great enthusiasm. The participants in the joint plenum attested that the republic's cultural figures would always be faithful to the principles

of party spirit and nationality in literature and art and that they will create new highly ideological and highly artistic works which are worthy of our great era -- the era of the construction of communism.

The plenum participants laid flowers at the memorial to V. I. Lenin. Flowers were also placed at the monument to honor the great October Socialist Revolution and the Obelisk of Glory at the grave of the unknown soldier in the Eternal Glory Park.

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CSO: 1800/27

REGIONAL

KARAKUM CANAL NAVIGATION

Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, 10-17 Oct 82 pp 8, 9

[Article by Yuri Sapozhkov]

[Text]

The ferry *Soviet Uzbekistan* had crossed the Caspian Sea and was slowly approaching the Krasnovodsk Bay, Soviet Central Asia's sea gate. We could not see it yet because of the mountains. Having passed by the bowing port cranes, the ferry deftly came alongside the platform with its narrow-gauge railway, and a few minutes later whole train rolled out of the lower deck.

THE FLOATING BRIDGE

Unsteady on their feet after twelve hours of slight tossing on the sea, the few passengers headed for shore. They had preferred a trip in a comfortable ferry-boat cabin, feasting their eyes on the exotic night sea, to a fast air flight from Baku (only one hour). But according to Leonid Golovko, chief of the Krasnovodsk port, the number of poetic-minded passengers is getting smaller; those travelling on business choose the plane. To offset this, especially in view of the growing goods traffic, the Caspian Shipping Administration has ordered that part of the upper passenger deck be used for containers.

The floating bridge, linking Central Asia with other Soviet Republics, comprises four ferry-boats similar to the one on which we travelled. They carry cotton, mineral raw materials, and animal husbandry products in one direction, and machines, machine tools, grain, timber and vegetables in the other. Of late the share of sand and cement coming in from across the Caspian has noticeably increased — a sure

sign, said Golovko, that the Amudarya water, which Krasnovodsk is awaiting so impatiently, is around the corner.

"Around the corner" means almost 400 kilometres from Kazandzhik to where a thin thread of the Karakum Canal has already reached

The next day, in a field crisscrossed with irrigation ditches, we were taken to a narrow trench with an earth dam. The bottom of the trench was covered with a layer of muddy water. It was the great Karakum Canal's 1101st kilometre. I jumped down to the edge of the water, and suddenly a whole colony of tiny frogs shot up from under my feet, from the dry cracks of the earth. The place had already signs of life.

It was another five hours by helicopter to the bountiful Amudarya. At first one saw the westernmost end of the canal meandering in the yellow sands like a stray traveller trying to find his way, but gradually its route became straighter and its flow more confident. The narrow strips of land with melons gave way to luxurious green carpets of cotton fields. The Mary Region was beneath us. From here to the mouth of the Amudarya, the Lenin Karakum Canal, under construction for more than a quarter of a century now, is navigable. There was busy traffic on it, like on any large river. Barges loaded with building materials and other goods, launches, and suction dredges moved up and down the canal. This area, right up to the Amudarya, is

the canal's main cultivated zone — almost 500,000 hectares.

One of our neighbours in the helicopter was a shepherd. With his face pressed to the porthole, he was peering at the land below, as if trying to see his flock of sheep there.

With the building of the canal, which has brought water to the once sun-scorched pastures, the desert has begun to provide karakul pelts for 50,000 people annually.

WATER MEASURED BY DROPS

I got this information from Klychurdy Sakhatmuradov, First Vice-Chairman of Turkmenia's State Planning Committee. He comes from a large farming family — his father and mother were cattle breeders, like all other people in their aul (desert settlement). His grandfather, Khan-Ali, had been irresistibly drawn to the land. The Murgab River, which flowed in their parts, was fed by the snow-covered mountains and lost much of its water in summertime. Well water was treasured more than anything else, literally it measured off by drops. Incredibly enough, the grandfather managed to have an orchard and a vegetable garden. The camel's thorn plant was to him a symbol of endurance and patience. He seemed to go without water himself, saving it for his plants. To conserve as much moisture as possible, he made deep furrows in the soil, called *dzhois*. When the crops were killed by heat and the scorched plots of land had to be ploughed up, the old man wept.

"My grandfather prayed for water day and night, but today we even forget sometimes to turn off the faucet properly," Sakhatmuradov said. He took a pencil and spread out the map of the Karakum Canal on his desk. "Look here: when this thin blue thread reaches Krasnovodsk, our irrigated farmland will add up to one million hectares. I can already see boundless white cotton fields. We shall grow fine-fibre varieties here. In the south-western areas of the Republic we shall have subtropics, complete with everything that is supposed to grow in such a zone."

SIBERIAN RIVERS TO HELP OUT

Klychdurdy Sakhatmuradov, a son of the great desert, went on enumerating all the good things that will come with the victory over the desert. But in my mind's eye I saw only the dead expanses of sand enveloped in haze. So I said to Klychdurdy:

To quote a Turkmen saying, "A gazelle would lose its hoofs and a bird would have its wings scorched off if they tried to cross the desert". No living creature could stand up to the 35 million hectares of the Ka-

rakum desert. What would an oasis of one million hectares be but a mere captive amid this ocean of sand? And according to expert opinion, soon the Amudarya and the Syrdarya will have nothing more to give to the "black sands". What then?

"The Siberian rivers can help us by sharing part of their water resources with us, enabling us to cultivate another 12 million hectares of desert," he said.

But what about the rest of the desert? It looks as if man will never be able to wrest anything more from the sands, will never turn the whole of the Karakum into an orchard. Do you agree with that?

"Yes, I do," Sakhatmuradov said, rolling up the map of the canal. "But in fact there is no need to turn the whole of the desert into something else. That would be disrespectful of Nature and economically inexpedient. The desert will remain a natural and territorial complex. Yet it will also serve man in a multitude of ways. We shall harvest crops of sunshine here, and we'll keep uncovering its wonderful secrets. Take, for example, the life of plants and of living crea-

tures in this incinerator, life which is full of drama and mysteries of adaptation."

...In the hospitable settlement of Nichka we were invited to join in the canal fishing. Everything was done in full conformity with the fishing regulations, said to be very strict in the Karakum desert. Still, the boys caught a huge sheet-fish weighing as much as 20 kilogrammes. They thought, however, that this was a rather modest catch, and were about to try their luck once more, but just then mosquitos went into an offensive, and we had to beat a hasty retreat.

Later, we heard stories told by Durda Khudaiberdyev, a geodesist, who was the first to lay out the Karakum Canal's route, the only one of its kind in the world. Among other things, he told us about his friend, a truck driver, who lost three brothers in the last war. He named his sons Duniya, Parakhar and Dursun. There are no such names in the Turkmen language, but he invented them with a good purpose. When put together they form a phrase: "May there always be peace!" Today these three brothers are helping build the head reservoir of the Karakum Canal.

REGIONAL

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERN: CONCENTRATION OF NON-RUSSIANS, DISPERSION OF RUSSIANS

Tashkent OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 22 Jun 82) pp 24-30

[Article by Z. Kh. Arifkhanova: "Changes in the National Structure of the Population of Central Asia and Their Influence on Internationalization Processes in the Period of Building Socialism"]

[Text] The level of nations' social development has a great influence on the development of national and international processes in society. Depending on their direction, social processes retard or create favorable conditions for the consolidation and development of nations and influence the character of their mutual relationships.

In bourgeois society class antagonism, which is the social base of nationalism, also determines the essence of national relationships. The destruction of all exploiting classes and all forms of exploitation and oppression under socialism eliminates the basis of previous relationships of domination and subordination both among social groups and among nations and nationalities. This proposition was expressed by K. Marx, who stated that "hostile relationships of nations among themselves also disappear together with the antagonism of classes within nations."¹

As emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree on the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation, the victory of the Great October, which broke the bonds of social and national oppression, and establishment of the power of the working class and public ownership of means of production laid "a firm foundation for the free development of all nations and nationalities and for their close unity and friendship."²

Also affecting the change of social intranational and international ties are such factors as fundamental changes in the make-up of the working class and peasantry and in the nature and essence of these classes, the formation of a national intelligentsia, and a change in the ratio of different social groups in society as well as in the size of the urban and rural population. An important place among these factors belongs to changes in the numerical and national composition of the population, which has a noticeable influence on national and international processes and at the same time reflects their dynamics and essence.

Consistently implementing principles of proletarian internationalism and creating favorable conditions for the free and full-fledged development of all nations in the country, the Communist Party assured high rates of their social and economic development, which also led to a noticeable increase in size of the population of the Union's national regions.

In the period between the 1926 and 1939 population censuses the Central Asian Republic provided the greatest population increase in the Union: 38 percent in the Uzbek SSR, 44 in the Tajik, 46 in the Kirghiz and 22 percent in the Turkmen SSR. The population of the region increased 30 percent on an average, and by 15.9 percent for the Union.³ Outstripping population growth rates have become a regional feature for Central Asia.

The size of the region's population rose through natural increase and by an intensification of migratory processes. The dynamic nature of the natural population increase was contingent on an improvement in living conditions, everyday and national traditions, a large proportion of early marriages, a high birth rate, predominance of a rural population and so on. Specifically these factors as well as ethnic processes led to the increase in the region's indigenous population, which contributed to an activation of national processes and a consolidation of nations and nationalities. From 1926 through 1939 the number of Uzbeks increased from 3,949,700 to 4,844,000, Turkmens from 749,900 to 811,700, Tajiks from 970,100 to 1,228,900, Kirghiz from 763,300 to 884,300, and Karakalpaks from 144,100 to 185,700.⁴

Population migration leading to a mechanical influx of a population of different nationalities had an active influence on the size and national composition of the republics' population. The region's overall population rose to 2,883,000 persons during the period 1926-1939, of whom 1.7 million were through migration, i.e., this source made up almost 60 percent of the total increase.⁵

In contrast to the prerevolutionary period when migration was caused by national and religious persecutions, political oppressions and unemployment, migration in a socialist society is caused by completely new reasons. The population influx into the republics of Central Asia in the 1920's and 1930's was connected with extensive industrial and irrigation construction, the discovery and development of natural resources, a growth of sovkhozes and development of new lands. The character of migratory processes changed: The population influx proceeded on the basis of a planned, goal-oriented shift of labor resources from one region to another. Individual resettlement also still held a significant spot. In the 1920's it was connected with unemployment, when the population of nearby RSFSR oblasts as well as masses of the Dungan population from contiguous regions, part of whom settled in Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, came to Central Asia in search of work.

On the whole, however, migration was caused by the needs for an increase in socialist production and by the profound transformations which had occurred in the economy of Central Asian republics with the active assistance of all peoples of the country.

The migration had a noticeable influence on the population's national structure and intensified its multinationality by considerably expanding territorial regions with a mixed population.

Table 1 - Dynamics of Size and National Composition of the Primary Peoples of Central Asian Republics*

Republics	Census Year	Total Residents, Thousands	Indigenous Nationality, %	Russians, %	Other Nationalities, %
Uzbek SSR	1926	4,609	72.6	5.3	22.1
	1939	6,335	65.1	11.6	23.3
Tajik SSR	1926	1,032	74.8	0.7	24.5
	1939	1,484	59.6	9.1	31.3
Kirghiz SSR	1926	1,002	66.6	11.7	21.7
	1939	1,458	51.7	20.8	27.5
Turkmen SSR	1926	998	70.2	8.2	21.6
	1939	1,251	59.2	18.6	22.2

*Compiled from the following data: "Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g. Kratkiye svodki" [1926 All-Union Population Census: Brief Summaries], Moscow, 1928, 4th issue, p 21; "Materialy Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1926 g. Uzbekskaya SSR" [Materials of 1926 All-Union Population Census: Uzbek SSR], 11th issue, Settlement Results of Tajik ASSR, Samarkand, 1927, pp XXVI-XXX; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda. Svodnyy tom" [Results of 1959 All-Union Population Census: Composite Volume], Moscow, 1962, p 19.

Data of population censuses (Table 1) indicate that with a considerable absolute increase in the region's primary nations (9 percent for Uzbek, 11 percent for Turkmen, 14.9 percent for Kirghiz and 17 percent for Tajik) there was a simultaneous drop in their proportion in the overall population make-up, which was caused by the increase in its multinationality and in the absolute size and proportion of other nations and nationalities.

Russians comprised the most significant layer of the newly arrived population. Their proportion in the overall make-up of population rose from 5.3 to 11.6 percent in Uzbekistan, from 0.7 to 9.1 in Tajikistan, from 11.7 to 20.8 percent in Kirghizia and from 8.2 to 18.6 percent in Turkmenia for the period 1926-1939, which indicates the Russian people's active participation in the region's socialist transformation.

The groups of largest size on the territory of each republic were made up of representatives of the principle peoples of Central Asian and other union republics--Tatars, Ukrainians, Armenians, Bashkirs, Mordvinians; as well as national groups--Uighurs, Dungans, Koreans, Belujis, Kurds, Iranians and Arabs. The increase in the proportion of this group of the population is characteristic. By 1939 it already made up 24.1 percent of the population in the Uzbek SSR, 31.4 percent in Tajik SSR, 27.5 percent in Kirghiz SSR and 22.2 percent in the Turkmen SSR.

The multinational increase in the population of all republics created conditions for more intensive international contacts within the republic and in all production, educational and other collectives and thus contributed to the development and reinforcement of the international unity of the peoples and to the internationalization of all social life.

The CPSU's internationalist course, which embodied Leninist principles of the full-fledged and free development of all nations, nationalities, and national and ethnic groups, contributed actively to this.

Resolutions of the 12th party congress emphasized in particular the equal rights of national groups and a need for participation in control entities "by representatives of all nationalities which are a part of these republics" and for the publication of special laws "assuring use of the native language in all state entities and in all establishments servicing the local population of a different nationality and national minorities."⁶

The party warned about the danger and necessity to fight any nationalistic vestiges and above all manifestations of chauvinism. The 12th congress deemed it necessary to promulgate "laws prosecuting and punishing with all revolutionary severity all violators of national rights and particularly the rights of national minorities."⁷

The Soviet state conducted extensive work to eliminate the economic and cultural backwardness of national groups. It granted them the right to organize if necessary national rayons and rural soviets, open schools, carry on business correspondence in the native language, and form their own national cadres who knew the mode of life, language and traditions of the people.

In the years of the 1st Five-Year Plan in Uzbekistan, for example, there were 10 rayons of national minorities and 4 mixed rayons, and 333 rural soviets where business correspondence was carried on in the language of the predominant nationality there. Several Dungan and Uigur rural soviets were formed in Kirghizia in the late 1920's.

A staff of special representatives was established in those places where a considerable number of national groups lived for work among them. For example staff representatives were working in Uzbekistan in 1930 in 41 riks and 9 city soviets. Results of work among national groups were summarized at special republic, oblast and rayon conferences.

Being the newly arrived population of Central Asia, the overwhelming majority of Uigurs, Dungans, Belujis and Kurds did not have land allotments here. During the land and water reforms of the 1920's they received land and cattle for the first time from Soviet authorities. In the process of cooperation and collectivization the national groups were drawn into socialist production in agriculture.

Taking account of the interests of national minorities, local entities set up separate kolkhozes for national groups in a number of rayons or kolkhozes mixed in national composition. For example in 1932 there were 210 kolkhozes

made up of representatives of national groups in 30 rayons of the Uzbek SSR.⁸ In 1936 Kirghizia had 13 kolkhozes with a predominant Dungan population, Kazakhstan had 10 and Tashkent Oblast had 2.⁹ In 1929 14 kolkhozes were formed in Turkmenia for national minorities.

The Soviet state gave much assistance to these farms, supplying them with modern tools, machines and fertilizers. The state encouraged in every way the development of those sectors in which national groups traditionally had worked. Because of this national minorities played a noticeable role in development of a number of sectors of Central Asian agriculture as early as the prewar years, especially rice growing, seed production, vegetable growing and animal husbandry.

At the same time national groups also were taking a more and more active part in the development of other sectors. For example the Uigur kolkhoz members began to engage in cotton growing and silkworm breeding during the years of Soviet power. In the period 1925-1927 the Dungans began to master what was for them a new sector--animal husbandry. They adopted experience of cultivating cotton from the fraternal Uzbek people and became masters of cotton growing. Central Asian Arabs who before the revolution primarily had engaged in cattle raising began to grow cotton, fruits and grapes and to cultivate grain crops in the very process of collectivization. Vegetable growing and horticulture began to develop widely among the Kurds of Turkmenia along with traditional occupations of growing grain and legume crops.

Representatives of national groups who lived in cities were drawn actively into industrial production.

For the first time the national minorities received an opportunity to study in the Russian language in schools, special tekhnikums and inpros's [expansion unknown, possibly educational institutes] created for them as early as the 1920's. A new alphabet was developed for a number of them and newspapers, journals, mass educational literature and sociopolitical literature began to be published in the native language. The first professional theaters were created and major opportunities opened up for the development of all national groups living in a region.

The internationalism of Lenin's policy of nationalities thus assured a truly full-fledged development of all peoples and so reinforced foundations for a growth of close, friendly international contacts.

The most dynamic process of national consolidation and international contacts went on in the cities, to which the population of varied nationalities was constantly migrating from remote and nearby regions and where there was an absence of factors determining a greater national homogeneity of rural settlements. The rapid growth of socialist industry generated a constant need in the cities for workers and specialists, and the population of cities grew quickly from representatives of many nationalities. Suffice it to say that from 1926 through 1939 the population of Central Asian cities rose from 1.4 to 2.4 million persons. The growth rates of the urban population in republics of the region can be judged from data of Table 2. The proportion of urban population in the region in 1926 was 14.5 percent, and in 1939 it was 23 percent.¹⁰

Dozens of new cities arose in the region where 522,000 persons then were living.

Table 2 - Population Growth Rates in Central Asia Between 1926 and 1939 Censuses*

Republics	1939 in % of 1926		
	Urban Population	Rural Population	Total
Uzbek SSR	142.8	136.1	137.1
Tajik SSR	237.6	133.1	143.9
Kirghiz SSR	221.2	135.2	145.7
Turkmen SSR	304.0	97.3	125.6
USSR	212.5	94.9	115.9

*PRAVDA, 2 June 1939. As we see, the region's urban population grew considerably faster than the rural population and at higher rates than for the Union as a whole.

The differences in proportion of urban and rural population between republics of Central Asia and the Union as a whole and among individual nationalities reduced.

There was a growth in the absolute number and proportion in the urban population of the primary nationalities, especially peoples who previously led for the most part a nomad life and had almost no cities (the Turkmens and Kirghiz), and there was a comparatively slower increase for the Uzbeks and Tajiks. The increase in proportion of the urban population among indigenous nationalities reflected considerable advances within nations and nationalities being formed in a region, contributing to intranational unification, since urban principles of life and closer contacts contributed to the elimination of oblast differences.

But the influx of the indigenous population into cities was retarded by a number of reasons and by 1939 this population did not comprise a majority here in a single one of the region's republics. The growth in the urban population came more from other national groups, especially Russians as well as representatives of neighboring CentralAsian nations and nationalities. The most intensive influx of the Russian population into cities was linked with the high requirement for qualified cadres of workers and specialists. Growth rates of the Russian population in Central Asian cities were higher than in the RSFSR. Sovkhozes also were distinguished by an international make-up. This is a graphic indicator of the role played by workers of the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR and other republics in developing the national economy of Central Asia.

The national aspects of urbanization characteristic of the region are seen in the example of Uzbekistan. With a small decrease in the number of Uzbeks and Tajiks in the composition of the urban population for 1926-1939, there was a considerable increase in the Russian population (2.5 times), the Kazakh,

Turkmen (5.3 times), Karakalpak, Tatar, Ukrainian (2.4 times), Kirghiz, Uigur, Iranian and Armenian (approximately 1.5 times), as well as an increase in the number of representatives of other nationalities (1.4 times).¹¹

And so urbanization was accompanied by a growth in the multinationality of cities. An international outlook took shape in them faster than in the rural area, the former national reticence was overcome, and new traditions and characteristic traits of the socialist way of life took shape. Meanwhile, it was in that period that a more intensive influx of Russians, Tatars, Ukrainians and Armenians was noted into rural areas of Uzbekistan, which was connected with the mechanization of agriculture, cultural transformations in the village, the development of new lands and the development of sovkhozes.

The fact that an excess in the number of the incoming population was a typical trend in migratory processes in the region also had its effect on intranational processes. For example, according to data of six cities of the Uzbek SSR in 1936 15,763 workers arrived and 6,549 departed. Only a small number of the persons who departed consisted of representatives of local nationalities.

The indigenous population of Central Asia migrated little to other parts of the country, which was explained by a number of reasons. One of them was the uniqueness of cultures, everyday principles and traditions of the Central Asian population. Its low mobility also is linked with predominance of a rural population which is distinguished by being sedentary, especially in that stage when agriculture required a large amount of labor resources and the attachment to the land still was very strong. Therefore the indigenous nationalities took a more active part in the intraregional movement of the population, which also greatly contributed to an expansion of regions with a mixed population and consequently to the establishment of close international contacts.

All this determined the fact that boundaries of national formations included the primary regions of settlement of corresponding peoples (Table 3).

Table 3 - Size of Peoples Living in Their Own Union and Autonomous Republics (% of Total People Living in USSR)*

Nationalities	1926	1939	1959
Russians	93.4	90.7	85.8
Uzbeks	84.5	84.2	83.8
Turkmens	82.7	91.2	92.2
Tajiks	63.0	71.9	75.2
Kirghiz	86.7	85.3	86.4
Karakalpaks	No info	85.4	90.7

*Compiled from following data: "Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 g. Kratkiye svodki," 4th issue, "Nationalities and Native Language of USSR Population," Moscow, 1928, pp 77-78; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda," USSR, Composite Volume, Moscow, 1962, pp 209-210.

As we see, in the period between the 1926 and 1939 population censuses there was a constant reduction in the number of Russians living within the limits of their own national formation, while there was an increase in the proportion of Turkmens, Tajiks and Karakalpaks living within the boundaries of their own republics. This trend bore a stable character, which is confirmed by data of the 1959 census, and had a positive effect on the process of consolidation of nations in republics of Central Asia.

Thus the period of building socialism was characterized by the dynamic development of the consolidation of nations and at the same time there was an increase in the multinationality of the population of republics, cities, villages and collectives of industrial and agricultural enterprises. The Communist Party and Soviet state took advantage of these objective processes to aid in the establishment and strengthening of friendship and cooperation of the region's peoples and internationalization of all social life, which contributed to the establishment of a new socialist way of life and formation of a new historical community, the Soviet people, which was completed under conditions of mature socialism.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], II, 590.
2. PRAVDA, 21 February 1982.
3. PRAVDA, 2 June 1939.
4. "Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1926 goda" [1926 All-Union Population Census], Vol XV, Moscow, 1928, pp 8-9; IZVESTIYA, 29 April 1940.
5. PRAVDA, 2 June 1939.
6. "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i Plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums], 8th ed., Vol II, Moscow, 1970, p 441.
7. Ibid.
8. REVOLYUTSIYA I NATSIONAL'NOSTI, No 9, 1932, p 78.
9. "Narody Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana" [The Peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan], Vol II, Moscow, 1963, p 541.
10. "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda" [Results of the 1959 All-Union Population Census], USSR, Composite Volume, p 26; "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1959 goda," Uzbek SSR, Kirghiz SSR, Tajik SSR, Turkmen SSR, p 11.
11. Figured from following data: TsGA UzSSR [Central State Archives of Uzbek SSR], stack R-1619, list 11, file 686, sheet 1.

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